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# Maryland Historical Magazine



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The Maryland Historical Society  
Winter 1982

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# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

Volume 77  
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**Shomette, *Flotilla: Battle for the Patuxent*, and Hopkins and Shomette, *War on the Patuxent, 1814: A Catalog of Artifacts***, by John D. Broadwater • **Wennersten, *The Oyster Wars of Chesapeake Bay***, by Ferdinand E. Chatard • **Hennessey, *American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States***, by Thomas W. Spalding • **Middlekauff, *The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763-1789***, by Curtis Carroll Davis • **Eisenberg, *Learning Vacations***, by Gary L. Browne ... 402

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HALL OF RECORDS LIBRARY

20184-77

ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND



E 14 VIEW ON JONES'S FALLS, BALTIMORE. REPRESENTING THE FIRST BAPTISMAL RITES PERFORMED THERE BY THE REV. JAMES OSBURN [sic]. SEPT 13TH, 1818 DRAWN BY S. SMITH ENGRAVED BY J. HILL. PUBLISHED BY G. SMITH NO. 5 SOUTH GAY ST. BALTIMORE MAY 30TH 1819. \*\* Aquatint. 41 × 59.2 cm. Koke 157; Stauffer 1323. MdBPM, MdHi (hand colored), Merrick (hand colored).

An advertisement in the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, November 19, 1818, laments that since “the rapid extension of buildings in the city of Baltimore is daily encroaching upon the beautiful scenery that its neighborhood presented, to preserve one of those charming views, as a matter of history, which may also serve to embellish the walls of the patrons of the fine arts, the subscriber has caused a FINE SKETCH to be taken of a delightful spot adjacent to col. Howard’s seat. . . . This Sketch is intended to be aquatinted by a pupil of the celebrated Jukes, in the very first style. The plate will be 24 × 18 inches, and the price in the sheet, *Five Dollars*—or be framed splendidly to cost for the plate, frame and glass, *Fifteen Dollars*, in a manner fit to ornament the parlour of any gentleman. . . . Geo Smith, 5, South Gay street.” This “charming” view looking northwest across Jones Falls at Biddle Street is hardly recognizable today. The minister performing the rite in midstream had recently established the Third Baptist Church on the site of Baltimore’s first Baptist church at Fayette and Front streets, where the Shot Tower now stands. The mansion on the hill to the right, near the present intersection of Preston Street and Guilford Avenue, belonged to William Duncan McKim. The large building behind the smaller dwelling in the foreground is the Salisbury Flour Mill. The building at the extreme right is a plaster-of-Paris mill. The miller’s house is behind the trees in the upper center. The drawing was made by S. Smith, probably Samuel Smith, listed in the Baltimore directories from 1824 to 1836 as artist and drawing master; also 1851.

*Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily advertiser*, Nov. 19, 1818; *Maryland History Notes* 4 (Feb. 1947):[1-2].

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# Annual Report

1981-82

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## Maryland Historical Society

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Opening of the fall exhibit honoring Laurel Race Course and the 30th anniversary of the running of the Washington, D.C. International.

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John McHale .....	<i>Chief Guard</i>
§ Samuel Assero .....	<i>Guard</i>
§ Olla Brown .....	<i>Guard</i>
§ Nicholas Dunne .....	<i>Guard</i>
§ Philip Fenton .....	<i>Guard from 11/81</i>
§ John Hopkins .....	<i>Guard</i>
§ Joseph Lentz .....	<i>Guard</i>
§ James Waddy .....	<i>Guard</i>
§ H. Clifton Watts .....	<i>Guard</i>

§ Part time

**VOLUNTEERS**

1981-82

**Administration**

Mrs. Louis Hecht  
Catherine Hoen  
Donna Hooper

Mrs. Allen C. Hopkins  
Mr. Gary Parks  
Mrs. Robert E. Vogel

**Antiques Show and Sale****Committee Chairmen**

Mrs. Herbert A. May, Jr. ....	<i>Chairman</i>
Mrs. Thomas Ransome Price .....	<i>Chairman</i>
Mrs. Charles W. Cole, Jr. ....	<i>Advisory Committee</i>
Leonard C. Crewe, Jr. ....	<i>Advisory Committee</i>
Mrs. Hammond J. Dugan, III .....	<i>Advisory Committee</i>
Mrs. Geary Lee Stonesifer, Jr. ....	<i>Advisory Committee</i>
Mrs. Aristides C. Alevizatos .....	<i>Preview Party</i>
Mrs. John S. Bainbridge, Jr. ....	<i>Dinner Dance</i>
Mrs. Daniel Baker .....	<i>Publicity</i>
Mrs. Thomas M. Baumann .....	<i>Poster Distribution</i>
Mrs. Gary Black .....	<i>Buffet</i>
Mary E. Busch .....	<i>Publicity</i>
Mrs. Edward W. Campbell, Jr. ....	<i>Preview Party</i>
Mrs. F. Markoe Dugan .....	<i>Conservation of Your Antiques</i>
George D. Edwards, II .....	<i>Publicity</i>
Jill Coleman .....	<i>Publications—Copy Editor</i>
Mrs. Henry Cotheal Evans, Jr. ....	<i>Catalogue Sales</i>
Mrs. M. Austin Fine .....	<i>Exhibitor Hospitality</i>
Mrs. Jervis S. Finney .....	<i>Advertising Renewals</i>
Mrs. Peter C. Gerard .....	<i>Conservation of Your Antiques</i>
Mrs. Leslie E. Goldsborough, Jr. ....	<i>Curator's Show-Walks</i>
Mrs. Ogden C. Gorman .....	<i>Buffet</i>
Mrs. A. B. Hackney .....	<i>Raffle</i>
Louis G. Hecht .....	<i>Advice for Collectors</i>
Mrs. Alexander Y. Hoff .....	<i>Decorations</i>
Mrs. R. Bowling Hubard .....	<i>Decorations</i>
Mrs. Jay Katz .....	<i>Publications—Chairman</i>
Mrs. Jerome T. Kidder .....	<i>Special Groups</i>
Mrs. Robert S. Killebrew, Jr. ....	<i>Signs</i>
Mrs. Theodore R. McKeldin, Jr. ....	<i>Open House Tour</i>
Mrs. Peter Y. Martin .....	<i>Volunteers</i>
Mrs. Frederick W. Meier, Jr. ....	<i>Exhibitor Hospitality</i>
Mrs. Samuel Merrick .....	<i>Decorations</i>
Mrs. Albert H. Michaels, Jr. ....	<i>Catalogue Sales</i>
Mrs. Edwin W. Obrecht, Jr. ....	<i>Advice for Collectors</i>
Mrs. R. Bentley Offutt .....	<i>Curator's Show-Walks</i>
Mrs. Robert Wilson Oster .....	<i>Conservation of Your Antiques</i>



1983 Antique Show and Sale Chairmen and Advisory Committee members. (l. to r.) Mrs. Hammond J. Dugan, III; Mrs. Geary Lee Stonesifer, Jr.; Leonard C. Crewe, Jr.; Mrs. Herbert A. May, Jr.; Mrs. Edwin W. Obrecht, Jr., and Mrs. Thomas R. Price.

- |                             |                                       |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Mrs. Francis G. Riggs       | <i>Preview Party Decorations</i>      |
| Mrs. Timothy M. Rodgers     | <i>Open House Tours</i>               |
| William A. Sager            | <i>Publications—Advisory Chairman</i> |
| Mrs. LeBaron R. Scarlett    | <i>Tickets</i>                        |
| Mrs. Paul Spadone, Jr.      | <i>Decorations</i>                    |
| Mrs. William G. Stewart     | <i>Poster Distribution</i>            |
| Mrs. John T. Stinson        | <i>Signs</i>                          |
| Mrs. J. Roger Sullivan, Jr. | <i>Special Events—Dinner Dance</i>    |
| Mrs. John L. Swarm          | <i>Preview Party Decorations</i>      |
| Mrs. Robert J. Thieblot     | <i>Special Exhibit</i>                |
| Mrs. Charles L. Wagandt, II | <i>Publications—Text Editor</i>       |
| Mrs. William C. Whitridge   | <i>Preview Party Decorations</i>      |

***Building Services***

C. J. Falkenhan

***Volunteer Business Committee***

The following civic-minded businesses contributed the services of their executives listed below:

Gregory H. Barnhill—Alex. Brown and Sons  
Elizabeth P. Blue—Ober, Grimes and Shriver  
David Brown—Alex. Brown and Sons  
Frederick S. Koontz—Clapp, Somerville, Honemann and Beach  
William Maseth—Ober, Grimes and Shriver  
Louise Meledin—Wright and Parks  
Thomas Moore—C & P Telephone Company  
Susan Myers—C & P Telephone Company  
James Pontier—First National Bank of Maryland  
William Regan—Handy and Harman  
D. Jeffrey Rice—Alex. Brown and Sons  
Margaret H. Rice—Brown, Worrall and Johnson Architects  
James Sharp—C & P Telephone Company  
Carol Smith—Mercantile Safe Deposit & Trust Company  
Martin Szostek—C & P Telephone Company

*Education Department Tour Guides*

Mrs. Harold Adams  
Mrs. James Allen  
Mrs. Irving Alter  
Mrs. William Arnold  
Mrs. Lawrence Awalt  
Mrs. Harold Brauner  
Mrs. Rodney Brooks  
Mrs. Frank Brooks

Mrs. James Cantler  
Mrs. Beale Cockey  
Mrs. William Conkling  
Mrs. James Cavanaugh  
Emmett Cosgrove  
Mrs. Page Dame  
Mrs. John Dunn  
Mrs. Ernest Day



School children receiving instruction in the galleries.

Mrs. J. J. Egan  
 Mrs. Frank Gallagher  
 Mrs. John Garber  
 Mrs. Charles Garland, Jr.  
 Karl Gruss  
 Mrs. John Highby  
 Mrs. Morsell Hines  
 Mrs. Mark Huss  
 Mrs. Bryden Hyde  
 Mrs. F. Morton Isaac  
 Mrs. Roy Kinard  
 Mrs. Charles Klein  
 Mrs. Francis Marbury  
 Mrs. Helen Maynard  
 Mrs. Edward McNeal  
 Richard Molloy  
 Mrs. John Neale  
 Mrs. John Nuttle

Mrs. Morris Perl  
 Rita Petza  
 Mrs. Roger Powers  
 Mrs. John Posey  
 Mrs. Eugene Resnicoff  
 Mrs. Bruce Sanders  
 Mrs. John Sanders  
 Mrs. Ashton Schiaffino  
 Lewis Sheppard  
 Mrs. William Somerville  
 Irene Stewart  
 Mrs. Charles Stieff  
 Mrs. Joseph Unitas  
 Mrs. Lloyd Webster  
 Anne Williams  
 Mrs. Henry Wolfe  
 Mrs. Graham Wood  
 Mrs. Joseph Young

### *Gallery*

Harry D. Berry, Jr.  
 Ana Maria Colwill  
 Kathy Farnsworth  
 Mrs. R. Riggs Griffith, IV  
 Robin S. Haynes  
 Louis G. Hecht  
 Frank L. Horton  
 Bryden B. Hyde  
 Barbara Katz  
 Cheryl Kitz  
 Frederick Koontz  
 Lillian Laird  
 Dave Mark  
 Betty Monocrusos

Sally Monteferrante  
 Mary McCauley  
 † Mrs. Charles W. Newhall, III  
 Gary Parks  
 Richard H. Randall, Jr.  
 Bambi L. Salter  
 Mrs. Richard J. Sarudy  
 Mrs. James Seiler  
 Mrs. Robert J. Thieblot  
 William Tilghman  
 Stephen H. Topping  
 Harry Williamson  
 Mrs. Richard Wood

### *Gifts-in-Kind Committee*

Mrs. Hammond J. Dugan, III  
 Mrs. Charles S. Garland, Jr.  
 Mrs. Peter Gerard  
 Mrs. William G. Kouwenhoven  
 Mrs. Patrick Lynch

Mrs. Samuel Merrick  
 Mrs. Thomas R. Price  
 Mrs. John T. Stinson  
 Mrs. Geary Lee Stonesifer, Jr.  
 Mrs. J. Roger Sullivan, Jr.

† deceased

**Information Desk**

Mrs. Leon Adler  
Mrs. Robert Beacham  
Rachel Davis  
Mrs. Patrick Deering  
Betty E. Dubbert  
Mrs. F. Markoe Dugan

Velva P. Grebe  
Mrs. Vernon H. Norwood  
Araminta Stubbs  
Mrs. J. Healy Sullivan  
Mrs. Robert E. Vogel  
E. Sheila Zeigler

**Latrobe Papers**

Vivian Klein

**Library**

Mrs. G. Maxwell Armor  
Mrs. I. W. Athey  
Susan Bacon  
Ann Blizzard  
Judy Bloomgarden  
Mrs. Howard Brenner  
Mrs. Walter Buck  
Diane Chambers  
Dr. Ferdinand Chatard  
Mrs. William Clark  
Mrs. Grafflin Cook  
Mrs. Warner W. Eckenrode  
P. William Filby  
Eliza C. Funk  
Mrs. Daniel Heifetz  
Edgar Heyl  
Edna Kanely  
Denwood Kelly  
Mary Kendall

Marjorie Keyser  
Andre Koza  
Mrs. James Krysiak  
Elmer Larson  
David Lentz  
Mrs. Carl Lohmeyer  
Lynn Maskell  
Elizabeth Monocrusos  
Alice Martin  
Mrs. Henry Naylor  
Margaret Neal  
Mrs. Alfred Pruce  
Jacqueline Slavney  
Ella Rowe  
Eugenia Stalfort  
Mrs. Vernon Wiesand  
Lisa Gladden  
Vanessa Beane

**Maritime Museum**

Denise Barilla  
Lewis A. Beck, Jr.  
Edward Brewster  
Steve Bunker  
Craig Flinner  
Roger S. Hecklinger  
Evans Lee Insley  
Kenneth Jones  
Ben Kim  
David Lawrence  
David Lentz  
John Liskey  
Sheridan McClees

Mary Mannix  
Steve Miller  
Garland E. Moore  
James Morgan  
Peter Pearre  
Constance Phelps  
Gene Pluninstead  
Frederick Rasmussen  
Celeste Simons  
Dan Snyder  
Peter Tasi  
Albert Trout  
H. Graham Wood

**Museum Shop**

Mary Barkley  
 Mrs. Robert Beacham  
 Joyce Brauner  
 Mrs. Walter Buck  
 Mrs. James Cantler  
 Mrs. Ridgley D. German

Mrs. William Keegan  
 Mrs. F. R. Knoop, Jr.  
 Mrs. William G. Kouwenhoven  
 Mrs. Bernard Langeluttig  
 Barbara Schlein  
 Joan Wroten

**Public Programs**

Desi Arrup  
 Isabelle Beachman  
 J. Charles Beasley  
 Christopher Ellis  
 Donna Ellis  
 Arthur Flinner  
 Ann Forbush  
 Barbara Gamse  
 Erin Gamse  
 Mac Gamse  
 Carol Harris  
 George Hays  
 John Hays  
 Louis K. Hines  
 Barbara Horneffer  
 Mary Lou Jones  
 William Keller  
 Renate Kirchgessner  
 Merrill Lavine

Joseph Macfarland  
 Nancy Martel  
 Lynn Maskell  
 Mary Meyer  
 Jean Milburn  
 Mary Murphy  
 Gary Parks  
 Missy Perilla  
 Constance Phelps  
 Edith Rush  
 Barbara Schlein  
 Lewis Sheppard  
 Jane Smith  
 Catherine Snead  
 Ruth Snead  
 Debra Teachman  
 Judy Van Dyke  
 Jan Williamson  
 E. Sheila Zeigler

EXCERPTS FROM PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL  
MEETING OF THE MUSEUM AND LIBRARY OF  
MARYLAND HISTORY, MARYLAND HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY, HELD IN THE JACOB AND ANNITA FRANCE  
AUDITORIUM ON OCTOBER 26, 1982

REPORT OF  
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

I would like to ask everyone to rise for a moment of silence in memory of our former Trustee and long time member, Frank C. Wachter, who passed away a few days ago. He was one of our most dedicated members, and a great help to the Board.

It is always a great pleasure to welcome to the Board our new Trustees and at the same time to recognize the service and dedication of those who are rotated off. I want to pay tribute to a lady who is retiring this year as a Trustee and who, for many years, has had association with the Society. I refer to my cousin, Kitty Symington, Mrs. Wallace Symington. We are very happy to have had the benefit of her wisdom and experience over the years. Fortunately, she is going to continue as a member of the Genealogical Committee. I think we should all give Kitty a hand for what she has done.

This organization has been trying for many years to have the strongest possible Board of Trustees, who are interested not only in what is going on at the Society but also in presenting our image of a go-getting outfit to the Maryland public. For this reason I am particularly pleased and honored tonight to welcome to the Board of Trustees, Bernie Trueschler. He is a great friend of mine, and well known for both his civic and business activities. Bernie, will you please stand so that everyone can see you? Is Leslie Disharoon in the house? He is also going on the Board, and we are proud of him for the same reasons. Everyone is delighted that these men are with us. As you know, we want to maintain the strongest possible image in each county, and we have had for some years now a key Trustee in every county. I am happy to say that Mason Hendrickson of Hagerstown will represent Washington County and will be taking Mr. Wachter's place.

I am sure that all of you have had a chance, or will have this evening, to look at the France-Merrick Wing. It's a stupendous sight and a great addition. More on that later, but now I think it is in order for us to have a vote of thanks to the Jacob and Annita France Foundation and to Robert Merrick, Sr. for making it possible to transfer this remarkable Colonial Revival counting room and add it to this fine building. So recorded.

Turning to the Endowment Campaign, when the Board decided in June 1980 to raise \$3,000,000 over a three year period, we could not have imagined that slightly over a year from the public inauguration of the capital drive in March 1981 we would have realized in cash and pledges the grand total of \$3,091,883.50. This is our position today, thanks to the dedication of the Society's total

membership along with Maryland corporate business, national corporations, and local and national foundations. We owe a tremendous vote of thanks to our Campaign team led by Truman Semans, Vice Chairman; Furlong Baldwin and Don DeVries who handled our corporate solicitation; Bill Whitridge for Foundations; Phil Hathaway and then, of course, to Red Crewe. His inspiration and fantastic organizing ability and follow through on all phases of the campaign were in addition to all the other things he and our director, Romaine Somerville, handled throughout the year. We could never have achieved this goal or gone over it had it not been for our really wonderful and competent staff, including Donna Tower and Kitty Dukes, and backing us all up, Romaine Somerville.

As Chairman of the Campaign I want to thank all of them, and at the same time share with the membership our intention to raise an additional million dollars during the next three years. We see many unturned rocks in the ferns along the by-ways of the State and in other areas. We know that we have the potential to raise that and more. We know that we are under consideration, for example, for a sizeable matching grant which would pose a fantastic challenge. This grant, from the National Endowment for the Humanities, could add immeasurably to the Endowment. Whether we get it or not, the challenge is there. Certain funds already secured and new money collected after October 1, 1982 could be counted against a three to one match. Even if this grant is not awarded, we have an excellent chance to raise a million or more dollars. We have \$100,000 towards it now.

In closing, just a word about Red Crewe. I am happy to report that he is doing fine and expects to return to work within a week or two.

*J. Fife Symington, Jr.*

## DIRECTOR'S REPORT

In 1981-82 our engineering and mechanical skills were tested as well as our historical and artistic resources. The France-Merrick Wing was brought to completion and the computerization of membership and accounting records was begun. Both projects progressed under the supervision of Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., Chief Executive Officer.

The focus of the France-Merrick Wing is the Counting Room. Originally constructed in 1941, it served for many years as the Board Room of the Equitable Trust Company when that banking institution occupied the Munsey Building at Calvert and Fayette Streets. The room is regarded as a significant example of Colonial Revival architecture in Maryland and its preservation in a new wing of the Museum and Library of Maryland History was made possible through the generosity of Robert G. Merrick, Sr., the Jacob and Annita France Foundation and the donation by the Equitable Trust Company of the paneling and contents of the room. The architect for the project was Ayers/Saint, Inc. The contractors were C. W. Jackson and Associates, Inc. and Unit Construction Company.

After an in-depth study by Tidewater Systems, a data processing consultant firm, computer hardware which suited our needs was selected and acquired. Software for membership and annual giving programs was designed by Glen K. Dent. Software will be obtained in the coming year for general accounting procedures such as payroll and cash receipts. Museum and library applications will be implemented at a later date.

Plans are being developed for the celebration of the 350th anniversary of the founding of the colony of Maryland. The Museum and Library of Maryland History is represented on the Maryland State Heritage Committee, appointed by Governor Harry Hughes to coordinate events relating to the anniversary. A major exhibition of Maryland silver and two publications, a new general history of Maryland and a guide to roadside historical markers in Maryland, will form part of the Society's contribution to the celebration.

The success of the statewide program is reflected in increasing activity on the county level. An exhibition of rare and important North American bird carvings was assembled and mounted with the assistance of the Wildfowl Art Museum of Wicomico County. An exhibition commemorating the 30th anniversary of the Laurel International race honored members from Anne Arundel County and a reception for new members from Montgomery County was held in June at the historic Great Falls Tavern in the C & O National Park at Potomac.

It is generally agreed that weekends present the greatest potential for reaching new and larger audiences. Because greater emphasis is being placed on Saturday and Sunday programs the work week for professional staff is now Tuesday through Saturday; this provides visitors with the opportunity to make full use of our resources on weekends. A major increase in attendance is projected.

The reputation of the Museum Shop and Book Store as a major center for publications on local history is growing. Attractive educational materials are offered for sale both here at Monument Street and at Harborplace where a cart was manned in the pre-Christmas season with the assistance of volunteers. Two

other inner harbor ventures brought the name of the Museum and Library of Maryland History to a larger segment of the public: showcase exhibits in the Pratt Street Building and maritime exhibits in the World Trade Center lobby.

Fundraising activities such as the Annual Maryland Antiques Show and Sale and educational trips sponsored by the Society continue to attract members and the public while helping to balance the budget. The Maryland Antiques Show and Sale is a major source of general funds income. Trips were conducted in 1981-82 to Canada, Yorktown, Virginia and Bermuda. Other fundraising ideas were explored. A volunteer committee was formed to solicit gifts-in-kind. An attractive brochure was distributed explaining the program and a staff member was assigned to coordinate the effort, assisting the committee in securing gifts of non-museum items to be sold for the benefit of the general program.

Grants totaling over \$150,000 were received for special projects and exhibits. The National Endowment for the Arts funded the preparatory work for a major exhibition and catalog on Maryland silver and also the preparations for an illustrated catalog of the Society's furniture collection. These projects will be completed in 1983 and 1984 respectively. The Institute of Museum Services assisted with general operating costs in the Registrar's Office for one year and funded an independent professional assessment of our programs and operations in anticipation of accreditation by the American Museum Association. Grants from the Maryland Committee for the Arts helped to develop a statewide traveling exhibition on "Maryland's Traditional Shipbuilders" and to produce a filmstrip about "Native Americans in Maryland." The Maryland Arts Council



Volunteer Tour Guides receiving instruction from Curator in their fall training program.

granted funds for the exhibition of wildfowl carvings and the National Endowment for the Arts awarded a matching grant for the conservation of paintings, drawings, furniture and sculpture from the permanent collection.

Louis Judges, former Chairman of the Board, Stegman Associates, joined the staff as Controller at the retirement of Julian Kurzman. Filling other openings that occurred during the year, Mary Ellen Hayward was appointed Curator of the Radcliffe Maritime Museum and Evelyn and Alfred Matthews agreed to serve jointly in the position of Coordinator, County Program.

Volunteers continue to give generously of their time and knowledge to assist us in maintaining a high level of service to the public. Over 600 volunteers made a major contribution toward the operation of the Society by serving on Standing Committees and on Special Committees in addition to working side by side with the staff in the day-to-day operation of this institution. On behalf of the general membership and the public which benefits from the services offered by the Museum and Library of Maryland History, I would like to thank the volunteers who worked with us in the past year. Special recognition is again due to our three key volunteers: Frank H. Weller, Jr., President; Leonard C. Crewe, Jr., Vice Chairman and Chief Executive Officer; and J. Fife Symington, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Trustees.

*Romaine Stec Somerville*



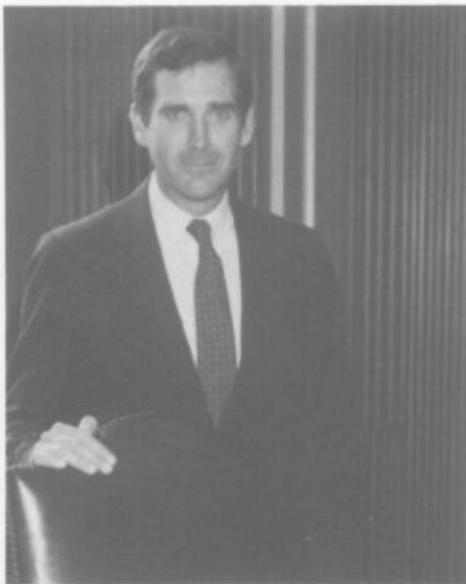
Frank H. Weller, Jr., President, speaking at the annual meeting.

## PRESIDENT'S REPORT

Those of you among our membership who have closely followed the events of the last year must be acutely aware of the great variety and resources of the Maryland Historical Society. Few historical societies have the variety contained in the Maryland Historical Society. It is a museum with an excellent collection of paintings, and other forms of the decorative arts; it is a maritime collection of considerable extent and note; it is a marvelous library and research tool containing thousands and thousands of volumes of books, manuscripts, as well as an extensive collection of prints and photographs and other paper materials. Most importantly, it is a unique combination of a professionally run and volunteer-supported organization. That volunteer effort is symbolized by the several committees who support the Society's function. The following is a brief summary of the activities of the committees during this past year.

*ADDRESSES COMMITTEE*

The four annual endowed lectures presented under the auspices of the Addresses Committee were: "National Building Museum—A Building Building," (William and Sarah Norris Lecture, W. Boulton Kelly, Speaker); "Art in Maryland—Past to Present," (Bernard C. Steiner Lecture, Leslie Hammond, Speaker); "Chippendale Furniture in Newport and Philadelphia," (Morris Schapiro Lecture, Morrison Hecksher, Speaker); "The Overland Journal—An American Literary Genre," (Edward G. Howard Lecture, Archibald Hanna, Jr., Speaker). These



Frank H. Weller, Jr., President, presiding at Council meeting.

diverse and interesting topics attracted good audiences from the membership and the general public.

### *ANNUAL GIVING COMMITTEE*

The Annual Giving Committee was restructured last year to emphasize a more aggressive program designed to reach all segments of the community, especially business, for support. A Coordinator for the Committee is now responsible for overall planning and provides continuity from year to year. Each annual campaign is organized and directed by a Chairman and Vice-Chairman who rotate yearly. The Committee is pleased to report that contributions from individuals, corporations and foundations are up 14% from \$110,252 in FY 80-81 to \$126,767 in FY 81-82. This was due in part to an intense fundraising effort which included two phonathons carried out by volunteers from the corporate community. Similarly, legislated appropriations from city, county and state governments rose from \$107,850 to \$111,350 representing a 3% increase. Contribution levels are expected to continue to rise as new contacts and fundraising techniques are refined.

### *BUILDINGS AND GROUNDS COMMITTEE*

During the past fiscal year construction progressed on the new France-Merrick Wing (which was completed by October, 1982). A computerized climate control system (TABS) was installed by Johnson Controls and went into operation in May, 1982. The two front planters were replaced, and, as part of our continuing program to keep the Society in the vanguard of local institutions in the area of detection and security, additional security devices were installed.

### *EDUCATION COMMITTEE*

The Committee continued to oversee an active and successful tour program: 18,704 children and 4,182 adults visited the museum and library for guided tours. A total of 55 volunteer guides, assisted by Education Department Staff, gave 1,193 tours, including a new series of regularly scheduled tours on Saturday afternoons, for the general public. In all, over 3,000 hours were given by Education Department volunteers. Teachers' training programs were conducted for teachers from Baltimore City, Baltimore County, the Association of Independent Maryland Schools, and the Catholic Archdiocese. Special programs included: a three-part seminar, "Tools of the Historian" for gifted Baltimore County eighth graders; special theme tours developed to support public school curricula, such as "Baltimore, a City Built on Energy"; funded bus transportation for 4,500 Baltimore City School children; a three-part embroidery workshop for senior citizens, a special Maryland Day tour, and an exhibit and reception for the Maryland Social Studies Fair.

*FINANCE COMMITTEE*

During the year substantially all investment funds were transferred to the custody of Mercantile Safe Deposit and Trust Company for consolidation and grouping into the categories listed below.

Cash management account	\$ 140,015
Fixed income account	1,451,371
Equity account A	1,020,039
Equity account B	979,544
Various special purpose funds	293,389
Assets at Equitable Trust Company	<u>107,340</u>
Total investment funds	\$3,991,698

Total investment income for the year was \$452,679 compared with \$244,284 for the previous year. The increase was the result of contributions to the capital funds campaign coupled with high interest rates. Subject to general policies adopted by the committee, investment administration of the portfolio is as follows: cash management, fixed income and special purpose fund accounts—by Mercantile Safe Deposit and Trust Company; equity account A—by Investment Counselors of Maryland; equity account B—by Alex. Brown & Sons; assets at Equitable Trust Company—by the Equitable Trust Company.

*GALLERY COMMITTEE*

The Gallery Committee reports that some of the more important accessions during the past year have been the portrait of Benjamin Henry Latrobe by Rembrandt Peale; a John Shaw armchair from the Senate chamber in Annapolis; sugar tongs, circa 1730, by Phillip Syng Sr.; Baltimore Pembroke table with eglomisé inlaid panels; a highly important card table, center table and tea table originally owned by Robert Smith (1757-1842) of Baltimore who was Secretary of State under President James Madison; a Baltimore tall clock with works by Peter Mohler; a silver ladle by William Whetcroft; a self portrait of Thomas Cromwell Corner; and a pair of Grecian couches by William Camp of Baltimore.

The Society continues to loan material to historic houses throughout the state and also has certain major items on loan to Hampton National Historic Site, The Chrysler Museum, Baltimore Industrial Museum, Walters Art Gallery, Memorial Continental Hall, Library of Congress, Historical Society of Talbot County, University of Maryland, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, Corcoran Gallery of Art, National Portrait Gallery, Amon Carter Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Society also had regularly changing exhibits, both large and small, which attracted local and national audiences throughout the year. In addition, the Gallery Committee has supervised the ongoing renovation and reinstallation of the permanent exhibition galleries and the installation of the Counting Room in the new France-Merrick Wing.



Portrait of Benjamin Henry Latrobe (1764-1820) by Rembrandt Peale (circa 1815) is the gift of Mrs. Gamble Latrobe of Wilmington, Delaware.

Numerous projects are supported by grants from federal agencies; the Institute of Museum Services, National Endowment for the Arts, Maryland Committee for the Humanities, and the Maryland State Arts Council.

The Gallery Committee and curatorial staff of the Gallery continued their role as advisors to Governor and Mrs. Hughes on the furnishing of the public rooms at Government House in Annapolis. The Committee and staff also gave assistance to county historical societies on such matters as correct period room installations, museum procedures, and lectures on the Maryland decorative arts.

### **GENEALOGY COMMITTEE**

The Genealogy Committee sponsored bus research trips to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia and to the Virginia State Library in

Richmond. It also sponsored an "Introductory Course in Genealogy". The Library's holdings have been enriched by the committee's purchase of the 1910 Census. Future plans include additional research trips and courses. Plans are now being made to hold a Mid-Atlantic genealogy conference in celebration of Maryland's 350th anniversary in 1984.

### LIBRARY COMMITTEE

The members of the Committee, together with the staff, began to address several issues of importance to all divisions of the Library. These challenges, to improve the quality of reader service, use space efficiently, facilitate collection processing and heighten conservation awareness, are paralleled by an increased demand for Library service. The Committee saw the publication this fiscal year of the long-awaited *Guide to the Research Collections of the Maryland Historical Society: Historical and Genealogical Manuscripts and Oral History Interviews* (Baltimore, 1981). This guide extends the coverage provided by the first published guide to the Society's manuscript collections, which appeared in 1968.

The Library was favored by two particularly impressive gifts among many: a daguerreotype of Edgar Allan Poe, presented by Mrs. John Henry Lewin; and a superb collection of sporting books, given by DeWitt L. Sage and Lowrie Sage Flagg.

### MARITIME COMMITTEE

During the past year the main work of the Maritime Committee has been the completion of a master plan for the future interpretation and administration of the Radcliffe Maritime Museum, funded by a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Additionally, the Committee was able to complete its assessment of our large and under-utilized collection and develop a modern and effective system for its management, through a grant from the Maritime Preservation Grants Program of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, and through the generosity of the St. Andrews Society. The Committee received a third grant—from the Maryland Committee for the Humanities—to develop a traveling exhibit on Maryland's Traditional Boatbuilders. This project is well under way and will open in June, 1983.

Over the past year the Committee has developed a series of exhibits relating to Baltimore's maritime heritage in the lobby of the World Trade Center. "Life on the Wharves, 1870-1920" opened in October, 1981, and "Oysters—Bay Boats and Big Business," in the spring. The Sea Lore Saturdays programs continued and over the course of the year the Committee sponsored various lectures on topics pertinent to the Maritime scene. The winter saw our major exhibit, "Steamin' Down the Chesapeake Bay" in the main lobby of the Society.

In early 1982, the Maritime Committee entered into an agreement with Charles

Center Inner Harbor Management to charter the *Minnie V*, the city's skipjack, oversee her outfitting as a working vessel, and sub-charter her to Buddy Harrison of Tilghman's Island to be worked during the oyster season, with one-third share of the net profits to go to the Maryland Historical Society. During the summer months, the *Minnie V* will be berthed in the Inner Harbor and used for educational programming.

With the announcement last fall that Nancy Brennan, former Specialist in Interpretation, was leaving to take the Directorship of the *Constellation*, the Committee formed a Search Committee to locate a new Curator. An eminently qualified local historian and museum specialist, Dr. Mary Ellen Hayward, was hired and began work in April as Curator. Since that time major progress has been made towards the reinstallation of the collections at the Society, with a new exhibit design prepared by the Curator and the Washington, D.C. design firm of Root & Chester.

### MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE

The Membership Committee reports both another increase in numbers of members to 7,800 and a new record income of over \$98,000 from memberships. Increasing membership in the Maryland Historical Society was undertaken through several new techniques such as direct mailing, joint county receptions and personalized letter writing by committee members. Conversion to an in-house computer will facilitate such efforts in the future and will allow for the cash flow advantages of monthly billings.

### PROGRAM COMMITTEE

In an effort to increase and broaden audiences at the Maryland Historical Society, the Program Committee initiated a successful movie series in the spring of 1982 and will continue to offer a film series on at least a once-a-year and possibly a twice-a-year basis. Additionally, the Committee has been working to coordinate topics for many of the lectures, exhibits and seminars by focusing them around significant events thereby creating larger programs on singular themes. Proposals for specific programs designed to reach new audiences are being studied by the Committee year round.

### PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE

In the past year the Committee reviewed numerous manuscripts and proposals for publications, and several important additions to studies in Maryland history are soon to be published. A new picture history of Baltimore, a textbook on native

Americans in Maryland, and a biography of the early life of George Calvert are forthcoming. The popular *Baltimore: A Picture History*, compiled under the auspices of the Maryland Historical Society, is currently being reprinted in a third edition. Additionally, the Publications Committee is cooperating with the Institute of Early American History and Culture to publish the *History of the Tuesday Club*. Other pending publications include a history of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad and a history of two coal towns in Western Maryland. At present the Committee is planning a project to produce a comprehensive history of Maryland that will mark the 350th Anniversary of the founding of the State.

### *PUBLIC RELATIONS COMMITTEE*

The Committee publicized through print and electronic media all those events which were important to the Society, including the fourth annual Maryland Antiques Show and Sale and the major exhibition, "Steamin' Down the Chesapeake". Other on-going work involves creating and implementing promotional campaigns, working with television and radio stations to secure public service coverage, and preparing all advertising.

### *SPEAKERS COMMITTEE*

The Speakers Committee completed its third successful season giving 86 slide talks on eight different subjects to audiences of over 4,220. Audiences included five county historical societies, a number of garden clubs, women's clubs, college alumni clubs, AAUW, Kiwanis and Rotary groups, as well as a number of senior citizens' groups. Volunteer speakers present the slide talks at the site of the group.

### *WOMEN'S COMMITTEE*

This past year, the Women's Committee pledged \$15,000 to the Endowment Campaign (to be paid \$3,000 a year for five years). The gift will be used to provide an endowment for the Silver Curator's position. Additionally, the Committee established a painting conservation fund in memory of Mrs. George Weems Williams. Three bus trips, one to Fairmont Park, Philadelphia, one to Odessa, Delaware for a Christmas celebration, and one to Stratford Hall in Virginia, were offered. Other events sponsored by the Women's Committee were the ninth annual Christmas Party for the membership and their guests, and a tea for all those who had joined the Maryland Historical Society in the past three years.

These summaries only highlight the wide range of activities which are sponsored by and overseen by the Society's standing committees. Other important

activities and events of the Society in the past year have been described elsewhere in this annual report. Taken collectively, it must leave an impression with the membership of an institution that is both thriving while changing to meet the needs of a modern society with a revitalized interest in the things of the past. More than ever, however, museums and libraries have to be in the business of "selling their services" and making the public constantly aware of what it is that they have to offer.

Because of a somewhat unique position in our state, we may face special challenges for the future. Among them are the fact that we are the recipient of a large number of historically and artistically important artifacts, documents, libraries, etc. As a natural repository for such items, the Society must be ever aware of the long-range planning needs to make available to the public the wonderful things which it already has and which it will undoubtedly receive in the future. The France-Merrick Wing has been a great boon to our space needs but has highlighted the fact that we must plan now for the late '80s and into the '90s for both future gallery and library and exhibit spaces. This is a task eagerly accepted by the Society which is increasingly aware of the role that it plays as an important educational source for the people of Maryland. It is a place where education, whether from research in the manuscripts or observance of a great painting or a piece of furniture, can and should be made a joy. This is much of what we are about, and we trust that our membership, as well as the public, senses and appreciates this.

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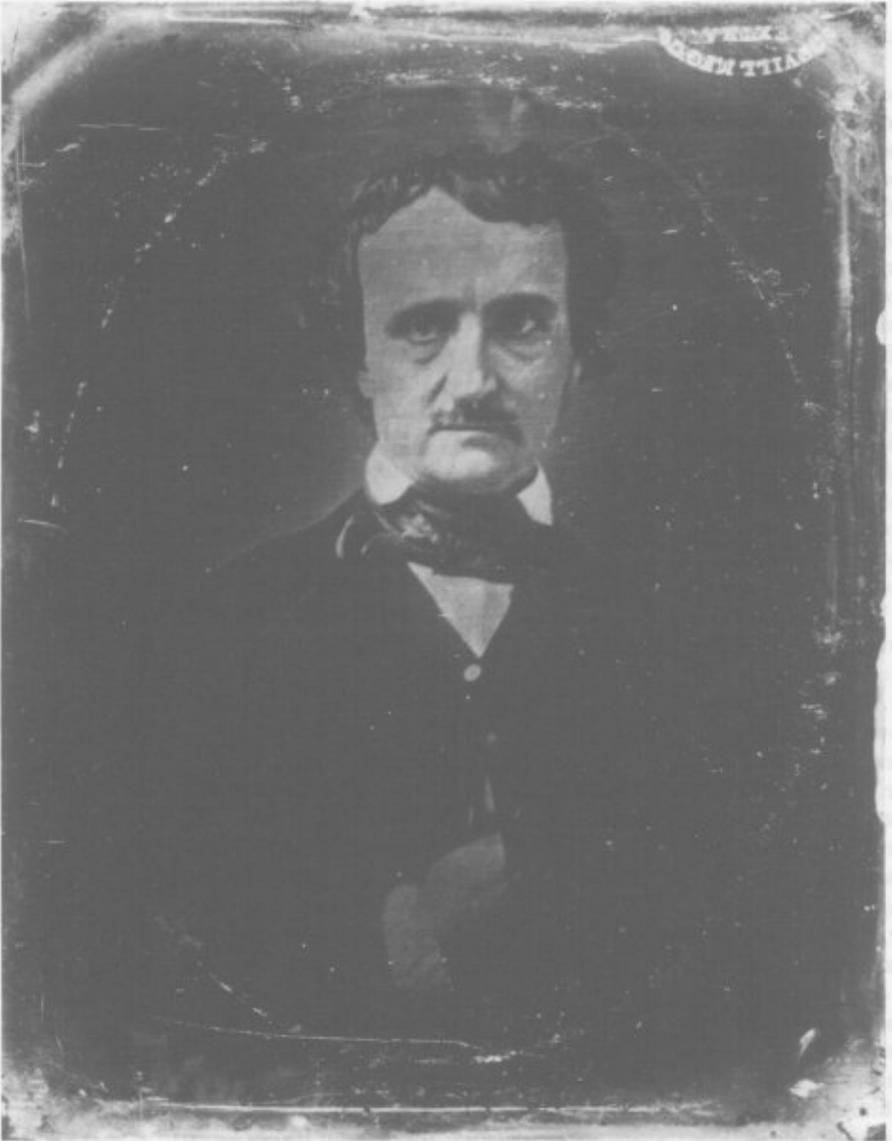
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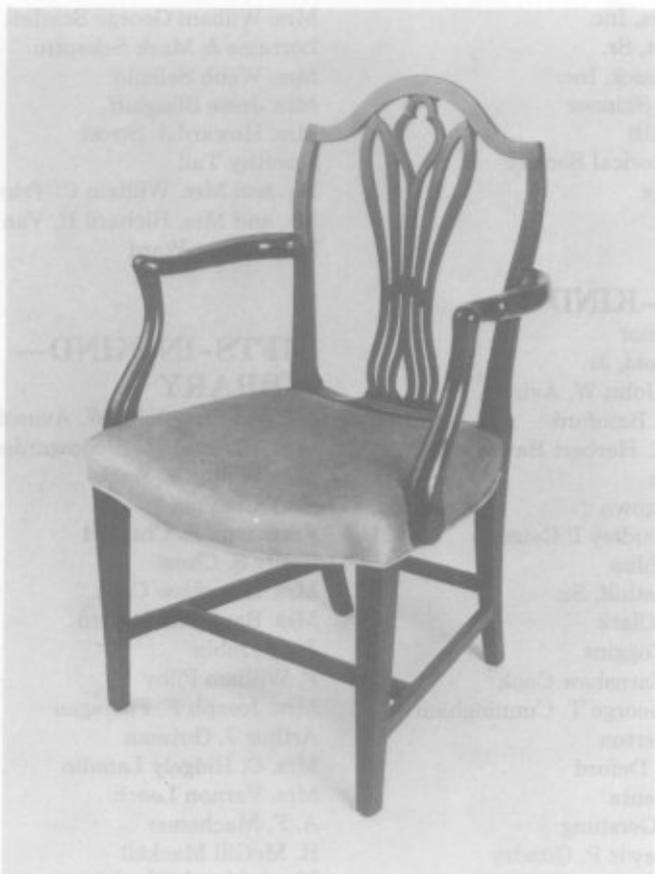
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\* A portion of the Museum's general operating funds for this fiscal year has been made available through a grant from the Institute of Museum Services, a federal agency that offers operating and program support to the nation's museums.

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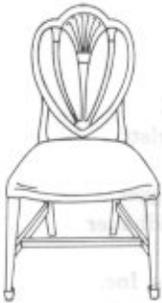
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Isaac H. Dixon  
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 for Education

Through the generosity of the Dixon family descendants and others, the Isaac H. Dixon Memorial Chair for Education has now been fully funded. This educational chair is believed by the Society to be the first established in the United States by a historical museum as part of its endowment program.

## MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

### Condensed Combined Balance Sheet—All Funds

June 30, 1982

#### ASSETS

Cash and marketable securities—at cost or donated value .....	\$4,270,179	(1)
Notes and accounts receivable .....	192,617	
Inventories .....	11,548	
Prepaid expenses .....	45,361	
Real estate and equipment—at cost less de- preciation of \$38,770 .....	3,232,690	(2)
Interfund net receivable .....	295,285	
Books, manuscripts, paintings, statues and other exhibits .....	3	
Total assets .....	<u>\$8,047,683</u>	

#### LIABILITIES AND FUND BALANCES

Accounts payable and accrued expenses .. .	\$ 94,687
Deferred revenue .....	22,427
Interfund net payable .....	295,285
Fund balances .....	<u>7,635,284</u>
Total liabilities and fund balances .....	<u>\$8,047,683</u>

(1) Market value \$4,051,404.

(2) It is the policy of the Society to record depreciation only on a small portion of its real estate which is leased to others.

## MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

### CONDENSED STATEMENT OF REVENUE AND EXPENSES FOR THE YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1982

#### General Fund

#### REVENUE

Dues .....	\$ 98,411	
Contributions and grants .....	238,117	(1)
Legacies and legacy income .....	7,979	
Investment income .....	400,591	
Rentals, sales and service fees .....	50,533	
Admissions .....	8,270	
Antiques Show .....	48,363	
Other income .....	<u>27,078</u>	
Total revenue .....	<u>879,342</u>	

#### EXPENSES

Gallery and museums .....	112,045	
Library, prints and manuscripts .....	142,853	
Magazine and history notes .....	65,351	
Educational services .....	34,405	
Public programs .....	48,120	
Development .....	53,108	
Building operations .....	244,454	
Administration and general .....	<u>204,746</u>	
Total expenses .....	<u>905,082</u>	
Excess of Expenses over Revenue .....	<u>\$ 25,740</u>	

(1) Includes grants from city, counties and state governments totaling \$111,350.

Funds for Specified Purposes

		Excess (Deficiency) of Revenue over Expenses
<b>ENDOWMENT</b>		
Contributions, gains on sales of investments and other income .....	\$1,103,712	
Expenses .....	<u>49,863</u>	
		\$1,053,849
<b>PUBLICATIONS</b>		
Revenue .....	12,140	
Expenses .....	<u>18,863</u>	
		(6,723)
<b>SPECIAL FUNDS</b>		
Revenue .....	361,785	
Expenses .....	<u>250,153</u>	
		111,632
<b>LATROBE PROJECT</b>		
Revenue .....	65,087	
Expenses .....	<u>97,878</u>	
		(32,791)

NOTE: The foregoing condensed combined balance sheet and condensed statement of revenue and expenses have been prepared by the Treasurer of the Maryland Historical Society from the report for the year ended June 30, 1982, submitted by our independent public accountants. Copies of their report are available upon request to the Treasurer, Maryland Historical Society, 201 West Monument Street, Baltimore, Maryland, 21201.

# The Chew Auction

DOUGLAS H. GORDON

**A** MEMORABLE EVENT IN THE ANNALS OF THE AUCTION ROOM AND AN occasion of the greatest historical interest, was Christie's evening sale in New York on April 1 of twenty-three documents and two printed books from the archives of the celebrated Chew family of Maryland and Pennsylvania. The fierce competition of the bidders, who came from far and wide—from New York to California and even from Europe—produced in thirty-eight dramatic minutes, one and a half minutes per lot, the sale's total of \$837,400.

Benjamin Chew, of a family originally from Virginia, was born in 1722, at "Maidstone", the Chew home, on the West River near Annapolis, Maryland. He studied law in the Middle Temple, the center of New World interests in London since the time of Hakluyt and Raleigh. After practicing for a short while in Dover, Delaware, he moved to Philadelphia in 1754. Only a year later he was appointed Attorney General of the Colony. When in 1774 after holding numerous high offices, he was named Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, Governor John Penn said of him that he is "the ablest man in this country and will be the best Judge that ever sat in the Supreme Court."

Meanwhile, Chew had been appointed a Commissioner for settling the Maryland-Pennsylvania boundary dispute. From this and the many other positions of trust which he owed to the confidence in which he was held by the Penns, he derived most of the papers that were sold on April 1.

The first two lots, leases of tracts of land, signed by William Penn, were acquired by a bidder calling himself Smith, and later William Smith. He was, in fact, Benjamin Coates, President of Coates Brothers, Ltd. of London and New York, founded just three centuries ago in 1682. The buyer's great-great-grandfather, John Reynal Coates, was a trusted agent of the Penn family.

After two more leases, the fifth item of the sale was William Penn's 1683 Commission to his cousin and Deputy Governor, Captain William Markham, James Harrison and William Clark, to represent him in the dispute with Charles Calvert, Third Lord Baltimore, over the border between Maryland and Delaware, which had been going on between the Dutch, the Penns' predecessors and the Calverts, since 1659. James II settled the matter on November 13, 1685, by ordering the peninsula to be divided equally. The boundary, however, was not definitely fixed until the Mason and Dixon survey. The commission was acquired by Kenneth Nebenzahl, Chicago dealer and map specialist acting for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for \$6,800.

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Mr. Gordon, long active in public affairs, particularly in zoning and city planning in the Mount Vernon district of Baltimore, is a lawyer and book collector.

Nebenzahl was less fortunate on his next bid—for an interim contract, dated February 17, 1723/24, to establish a sort of neutral zone between Pennsylvania and Maryland. This fell to Newbold Smith. This Smith, likewise, acquired (against W. Graham Arader III, map dealer and proprietor of Sessler's bookstore in Philadelphia) an agreement signed on May 10, 1732, by the Penns and Charles Calvert, Fifth Lord Baltimore, settling the Pennsylvania–Maryland boundary. The hammer fell at \$8,500, so far the highest price of the sale.

An engraved map of parts of Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland and Virginia and a manuscript map based on the engraved map but with variations were the next two lots in which Arader was the underbidder and Nebenzahl the winner.

Nebenzahl failed to secure lot 10, a Franklin printing of the 1732 agreement which was won by Richard Ramer, a New York map dealer, who, however, lost to George S. MacManus, a Philadelphia bookseller, at \$3,200, the printed decision of Lord Chancellor Hardwicke declaring the 1732 agreement binding on all parties. This was printed by Benjamin Franklin and David Hall in 1750 and included the text of the commission from Thomas and Richard Penn to Benjamin Chew and others to supervise the survey of the Pennsylvania–Maryland line.

Arader secured the next lot, 12, an agreement dated July 4, 1760, between the Penns and Frederick, Sixth Lord Baltimore. Lord Baltimore had repudiated the agreement made by his father in 1732, but he then consented to adhere to it, upon being released from payment of legal fees.

Two identical copies (item 13 and 14) of the appointment next day of the Pennsylvania Commissioners, Lieutenant Governor James Hamilton, Benjamin Chew and five others, went to Nebenzahl as agent for the Society against Arader, at \$3,400 and \$3,000.

The contract for the running of the Mason and Dixon Line was lot 15. Nebenzahl secured it at \$14,000 for the Historical Society, the first price of the sale in excess of \$10,000. The underbidder was Maurice F. Neville, a Santa Barbara bookseller, acting for a West Coast collector.

Next came in one lot, three letters from Thomas Penn to the Pennsylvania Commissioners, the first stating that he hoped to avoid “unreasonable objections” on the part of Lord Baltimore by having him agree to the appointment of eminent surveyors, which he had at length done, the second announcing the contract with the surveyor, and the third introducing the surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, to the Commissioners. Nebenzahl secured these for the Society for \$10,000 against Arader. Once more for the Society against Neville, he won, for \$12,000, five letters to Benjamin Chew and a sixth to another commissioner, Edward Shippen, Jr., father of the lively Peggy who became the wife of Benedict Arnold. They were written by Mason and Dixon and most interestingly describe the progress of their work. Again for the Society, Nebenzahl at what seems a reasonable price, \$3,500, secured three folio volumes of accounts and one of minutes of the meetings of the Commissioners; and finally against Neville, the bill rendered by Mason and Dixon for their survey, £ 3256.01.00, together with several minor financial statements.

Lot 21 was the engraved but unsigned Mason and Dixon line acquired by Nebenzahl for a private collector. It was estimated by Christie's at \$8,000 to \$10,000, but fetched \$32,000, perhaps because the Library of Congress was the

underbidder. Yet the next item, a certified and fully signed copy estimated at \$25,000 to \$35,000, brought \$36,000, only \$4,000 more than the unsigned and seemingly less interesting copy which preceded it. The buyer was Benjamin Coates, against Arader.

Lot 23 was the drawing for the "West Line or Parallel of Latitude which is the boundary between the Provinces of Maryland and Pennsylvania"—commonly known as the Mason and Dixon Line, (except for the western most thirty-six miles of the Line, the survey of which the Indians blocked). It is drawn with such finesse that it was thought to be one of the engraved copies of the Line until 1963. In that year a member of the Chew family noticed that the cartouche over the signatures of the surveyors was entirely different from that on the engraving. Thus it became known that this was, in fact, the drawing from which the Line was engraved.

The drawing for the remaining portion of the line between Maryland and Delaware had been acquired in 1864 by the father of John H. Doran of Kingston, Pennsylvania, who, in 1955, gave it to Princeton in memory of his son, Joseph I. Doran II. With it was an engraved copy of the Pennsylvania-Maryland Line. Evidently at the time the two parts were thought to be merely engraved copies of the entire survey. Presumably the gift was made by Benjamin Chew 3rd for it is known that this member of the Chew family the previous year, gave an engraved copy of the line to another friend, John McAllister.

Christie's estimated the manuscript map at \$40,000 to \$60,000. Princeton would have liked to bid. The Historical Society had already spent \$48,000 on its earlier purchases, but still had a considerable amount available. Neither was able to influence the events that followed rapidly. Two determined bidders, Malcolm Forbes, Jr., one of the proprietors of *Forbes* magazine, founded by his father, and Benjamin Coates, drove the price to \$360,000, much the highest price of the sale and also the highest recorded price ever paid for a map. After the sale, Forbes, a Princeton alumnus like his father and brother, Christopher, was contradictorily reported as saying the Forbes Foundation would lend its portion of the map to Princeton, or would borrow Princeton's portion for exhibit in its gallery adjoining the Forbes Building in New York.

Coates consoled himself by acquiring for \$48,000 the next lot, 24. It is a contemporary but less elaborate copy of the charter by which Charles II granted the State of Pennsylvania to William Penn. The original copy, complete with the Great Seal of England, but which lost its seal in 1837, was brought to America in 1802 by John Reynal Coates, Benjamin Chew's successor as counsel to the Penn family. In 1812, he presented it to the State of Pennsylvania. It is appropriate that the second copy of the charter should now belong to the great-great-grandson of the former owner and generous donor of the first.

The final item of the sale, 25, was the first printed version of the Declaration of Independence. It was unknown to Joseph Sabin, the bibliographer active in the 1860s and 1870s. As recently as 1947 only five copies were known. In 1967, John Carter and Percy Muir's "Printing and the Mind of Man" listed fifteen copies. Two years later a sixteenth copy was found in a Philadelphia bookshop. This was bought by a Texan previously unknown as a collector who declared it was, next to the Bible, the most important document ever printed. H. P. Kraus,

who is really the world's leading book and manuscript dealer, found himself in the unusual position of underbidder when the hammer fell at \$404,000. He remarked with bitter humor that he should have known not to get into a fight with a Texan. Six years later a copy sold in London for \$90,000. In 1967, Frederick R. Goff, Chief of the Rare Book section of the Library of Congress, listed 21 copies.

Despite the declining rarity of the Declaration, the Chew copy, probably because of its superb condition, fell to John Fleming the New York bookseller, at \$285,000 considerably more than the estimate of \$150,000 to \$200,000—the highest estimate of the sale. Once more Kraus was the underbidder. He was not at the sale personally, but was represented by his daughter, Mary Ann Mitchell. The copy has now been presented to the Pierpont Morgan Library by the Robert Wood Johnson Charitable Trust. Two other copies remain in private hands, one belonging to an anonymous New York collector, the other to William H. Scheide of Princeton, who, among the vast treasures, accumulated by three generations of his family, owns the last Gutenberg Bible in private hands—a splendid copy—and the first 1623 Shakespeare Folio to come to America.

No account of the sale can be complete which does not mention the magnificent reception given by Christie's on Monday, March 29. Collectors and librarians and dealers were invited. Members of the Chew family were also present. Amidst animated conversation both amusing and learned, prospective bidders measured their future rivals, as to will power and, if possible, financial strength, in preparation for the future contest and the lightning-like decisions which would then have to be made. It was a glorious prelude to a most successful sale and itself an unforgettable event. Finally, Christie's eighty-four page catalogue should be cited as a monument of scholarship of permanent value to future generations.

# The Shots That Saved Baltimore

B. WHEELER JENKINS, M.D.

**I**N STUDYING THE HISTORY OF THE BATTLE OF LEXINGTON AND Concord in the opening days of the Revolutionary War, the student is informed that on Concord Bridge were "fired the shots heard 'round the world".

While not detracting in any way from their importance, or the glory attributed to these shots, some attention and long overdue recognition should be given to two shots fired in the War of 1812-14 that killed the British commander, Major General Robert Ross.

On September 12th 1814 in the opening action of the Battle of North Point, two sharp shooters, Daniel Wells and Henry G. McComas, privates in Captain Asquith's Company, were members of a reconnaissance force sent to obtain information about the British forces advancing toward Baltimore, and to harrass them if possible.

When it was ascertained that the British were advancing in a pincers movement, and that the American forces would soon be surrounded, they effected a safe retreat. Wells and McComas however, elected to stay. Earlier that morning they had declared that they would sell their lives dearly. In modern military parlance they entered upon a suicide mission.

Both had been present three weeks earlier at the Battle of Bladensburg. In this battle, which took place outside of Washington on August 14th, a British invading force of 4500 soldiers and sailors under the command of Major General Robert Ross, met and routed a force of 9000 American militia under the command of Brigadier General William H. Winder. General Winder, it was later reported at his Court Martial, lacked the ability and skill to handle troops properly. He owed his appointment to political rather than military reasons. After defeating the American forces at Bladensburg the British went on to sack and burn Washington.

Wells and McComas had seen Gen. Ross at Bladensburg. McComas always wore a high felt hat of a civilian type with a feather in it, rather than a military type cap. This feather, according to his family, was shot off at Bladensburg and on his return to Baltimore he remarked that "should I see Gen. Ross again I would know him". As the reconnaissance force withdrew, Wells and McComas stayed behind. They each hid behind separate trees and as Ross, accompanied by his aide-de-camp Col. McNamara and Lieut. Hamilton and two courier sergeants approached, they both fired, mortally wounding Ross. He died there at the scene being supported by Col. McNamara. The accompanying troops immediately fired into the trees and both Wells and McComas were killed before they could reload. The fact that one of the Americans was actually McComas is attested in a British

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Dr. Jenkins resides in New Jersey.

account of the incident by one of the couriers in 1817, Sgt. Sannford. He states "one of the Americans had on a high hat such as is worn by civilians."

Another fascinating testimony of this incident occurred 32 years later. A gentleman from Baltimore, Mr. Thomas G. Wilson wrote to General James McAnderson, Commanding General of the Maryland state Militia, as follows "My brother Henry was in England in 1846 and at Ulswater in the Lake district, he met a gentleman at dinner. In the course of conversation he asked my brother where he was from. When my brother told him Baltimore in America, he said 'I was once near there but did not get in as your soldiers killed our General Ross and we returned to our ships. I was aide-de-camp to the general and he fell into my arms.'"

With the death of Ross the command of the British forces devolved on Colonel Brook, an officer of great personal courage but better equipped to lead a battalion rather than guide an army.

The British kept advancing after the death of General Ross. In a few moments they met a major resistance in the force of about 4000 American militia drawn up on a strong position with well defended flanks. After a spirited and bloody engagement the Americans withdrew and the British decided to stay there on the field of battle for the night.

On the morning of Sept 13th they resumed their advance, this time encountering many obstacles to their progress such as fallen trees and ditches which the Americans had dug as they retreated. It was not until the evening of the 13th that they came upon the main body of defenders of Baltimore. A force under the command of a much more experienced officer, Major. Gen. Samuel Smith drawn up in formidable entrenchments in such a way that a cross fire could be kept up. They also had mounted over 100 pieces of artillery.

Instead of attacking this army the British halted. It was now pouring rain and both armies spent the night in sight of each other with no attempt being made to attack by either force. A council of war was held by the British at which time they heard from Admiral Cockburn that Fort McHenry had not been taken and they could expect no help from their naval forces. Realizing that any attack of this well entrenched force defending Baltimore would be very different from the action against those defending Washington, the order was given to retreat and return to their ships. This they did and reembarked at North Point. They sailed to Jamaica and after regrouping went on to New Orleans to meet Gen. Andrew Jackson, and ultimate final defeat.

The war of 1812-14 does not hold a prominent place in the annals of American history. It produced no men of the stature of Washington, Lincoln or Lee. Also, the capture and burning of Washington by a few thousand invading troops and the flight of President Madison and his cabinet is a chapter in American history that we would like to forget. The War of 1812-14 is overshadowed in history by the American Revolution.

In focusing upon a single event in history there is a tendency to magnify its importance, to apply the proverbial theory that a kingdom was lost for the want of a horse-shoe nail. Despite all of this it has to be said that in an attempt to capture Baltimore the British leader, Gen. Robert Ross was killed by two snipers. Being discouraged and disheartened by his death they abandoned their efforts to take the city and retreated to their boats and sailed away.

One other thing must be taken into consideration at this time. While this was happening British and American negotiators were meeting at Ghent. When they heard the news of the repulse at Baltimore the British negotiators relented in their demands and they arrived at a treaty of peace.

In conclusion let it be said that the success of the defense of Baltimore involved three factors:

1. The more expert deployment of the defending troops outside the city by General Smith as compared to the unmilitary method employed by the unfortunate Gen. Winder at Bladensburg. When the demoralized British troops saw this they were only too happy to withdraw.

2. The successful defense of Fort McHenry and the failure of the British naval forces to enter into the action of taking the city. It was during this time that the immortal lines of the "Star Spangled Banner" were penned by Francis Scott Key.

3. The killing of Gen. Robert Ross by Wells and McComas, completely demoralized the invading forces and as a result they retreated to their ships and left the country. The importance of this can be all the more appreciated when we consider that these troops were the finest England had to offer. They had just come from the peninsular campaign under Wellington against Napoleon.

The fact that only two men were instrumental in effecting such a monumental change in the course of events in warfare has few parallels in history. In a more modern setting they would surely have been candidates for the Congressional Medal of Honor. Truly their complete disregard for their own personal safety reflects only the highest qualities of honor, bravery and love of country far above and beyond the call of duty.

Two days after their heroic death the bodies of Wells and McComas were taken to Baltimore by their compatriots and buried in a vault at Greenmount cemetery. This fact also attests to the importance attributed to their action by their fellow soldiers. The custom in warfare at that time was to bury the non-commissioned dead in mass graves pretty much where they fell with very little attempt made at grave marking or identification. Only in the case of officers was any attempt made to isolate and identify the graves. The higher the rank the more effort was made; for example, the body of Gen. Ross was preserved in a barrel of rum and taken to Halifax where it was buried.

In 1858, when Greenmount cemetery was being relocated to allow construction of Johns Hopkins University and Hospital, the bodies of Wells and McComas were reinterred with full military honors in a special tomb in Ashland Square at Monument and Aisquith streets in Baltimore. The city has erected a monument there memorializing their actions.

The inscriptions on the monument read:

Henry G. McComas Born Sept. 20, 1795 Killed Sept. 12th 1814 at the Battle of North Point Aged 18 yrs 11m. and 22 days.

Daniel Wells Born Dec. 30th, 1794 Killed Sept. 12th 1814 at the Battle of North Point Aged 19 yrs 8m. and 13 days.

# A Brief History of the Bush River Friends Meeting of Harford County, Maryland

HUNTER C. SUTHERLAND

**T**HE FIRST QUAKER MEETINGS IN AMERICA ARE BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN formed in Maryland as a result of Elizabeth Harris' missionary journey to Calvert and Anne Arundel Counties in 1656-1657.<sup>1</sup> Converts from the meetings which she helped to establish at West River, Herring Creek and Clifts soon moved up the Bay to new land holdings along the Patapsco, Gunpowder and Bush Rivers. Research indicates that the first Quaker meeting house to be built north of Annapolis was located on the old post road at the western edge of Bynum Run and was known as the Bush River Quaker Meeting.<sup>2</sup> The exact date of the beginning of this meeting is unknown, but two sources give an approximate time. Under the date of 1706, Thomas Chalkley, a noted traveling Quaker minister, makes the following notation in his *Journal*: "Aquila Paca, High Sheriff of the county, living at the head of Bush River, near the main road, built a meeting house at his own charge x x x at which we had many fine meetings."<sup>3</sup> The court records of Baltimore County for the June Term, 1709 state: "Order that a house built by Mr. Aquila Paca for the use of Quakers at Bynum Run be recorded for the same." Thomas Chalkley returned to Bush River in 1717 and recorded, "I found the meeting in a growing condition."<sup>4</sup>

The membership of the Bush River Meeting was never large; therefore, it remained as a "preparative meeting" under the supervision of a larger "monthly meeting" for the entire period of its existence.<sup>5</sup> No membership list has ever been found among the records of New Garden and Nottingham Meetings, which were the parent meetings of Bush River until 1760.<sup>6</sup> However, the minutes of these meetings do give the names of members who served actively in leadership roles, members who were married within the meeting, and members who violated Quaker principles, requiring discipline or disownment. Being married by a priest or "marrying out" to a non-Quaker was a serious offense during this period. Disownment sometimes occurred for this infraction or for others, thus the membership was kept small.

Who were the early Quakers (before 1750) associated with the Bush River Meeting as gleaned from meeting records and other sources? Aquila and Martha (Phillips) Paca, grandparents of the Maryland Governor, William Paca, became Friends after their marriage in 1699, and Aquila, as a founder, undoubtedly, was

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Mr. Sutherland, a retired educator, serves as Clerk of the Little Falls Monthly Meeting of Friends.

an influential member until his death in 1721. Paca's will requested that his children be raised as Quakers, so they must have attended meetings as a family.<sup>7</sup> Two of his daughters—Susanna and Mary—married Quakers and continued to live as Friends; however, his sons, Aquila and John, were married at St. Georges and joined the Church of England.<sup>8</sup>

Peter Bond, who purchased "Harris Trust" near Bush in 1692,<sup>9</sup> and his son, Thomas of Emmorton and "Bond's Forest," were devout Quakers,<sup>10</sup> and undoubtedly, became early members of the Bush River Meeting. Four of Thomas' sons—Jacob, James, Joshua and Thomas, Jr.—were disciplined by the meeting for fighting, for playing on the fiddle and for "marrying out."<sup>11</sup> Later, disagreement over participation in military activities would cause these four to leave the Society of Friends or be disowned. Only son John, who married Aliceanna Webster at the Bush River Meeting in 1734, continued to live a full life as a Quaker.<sup>12</sup>

John and William Cole (Coale), John and Edward Talbott, and Samuel Wallis were Anne Arundel County Quakers who moved to Bush River before 1700.<sup>13</sup> All must have joined the Bush River Meeting. Thomas Cole was a trustee and elder of the meeting, and Thomas Cole, Jr. returned to West River in 1730 to marry Margaret Richardson. John Talbot, son of John, married Margaret Webster at Bush in 1741, and Samuel Wallis, Jr. married Cassandra Talbott, daughter of John, in 1730. Mary Wallis was disowned for "marrying out."<sup>14</sup>

Eli Crockett was an early trustee<sup>15</sup> and his sons, Gilbert and John, were active members of the Bush River Meeting. Gilbert married Mary Chew in 1727 and John married Mary Richardson in 1747 in Quaker ceremonies.<sup>16</sup>

James Lee, who married Margaret, the widow of John Wilson of Anne Arundel County and owned a 600 acre tract known as "Palmer's Forest," was a trustee of the Bush River Meeting.<sup>17</sup> His son, known as "James Lee of Deer Creek," married Elizabeth Gover, whose family had Quaker roots in Anne Arundel County, also. Margaret, the daughter of James and Margaret Lee, married Isaac Webster and lived to see ten of her children married in Quaker ceremonies.<sup>18</sup> Isaac's father, John Webster (1662-1753), crossed the Bay from the Sassafras River area and patented "Webster's Forest" in 1696.<sup>19</sup> John and Isaac Webster as trustees and overseers exerted strong leadership over the Bush River Meeting for half a century. Daughters of these two stalwart Quakers married other Friends—William Coale, Jacob Giles, John Bond, John Talbott, Samuel Gover, Nathan Richardson, John Wilson, Dr. Thaddeus Jewett—who continued the Quaker traditions for a generation or more.<sup>20</sup>

Charles Boulton, James Chew, Harman (Herman) Husband, Henry Jones, Joseph Jones, Robert Love, Thomas Miles and Thomas Pycraft appear in the Bush River records as overseers before 1750. Robert Love married Sarah Bond in 1729 at St. Johns; Sarah Chew, widow of Joseph Chew, was disowned for "marrying out"; but their daughter, Elizabeth Chew, married John Hopkins of Deer Creek in a proper Quaker ceremony.<sup>21</sup>

In addition to the members noted previously who were disciplined for "marrying out," the following were disowned for the same reasons: Charles Mithias Boulton, Robert Dutton, Caleb Hughes, Mary and Anne Keen.<sup>22</sup> A recent historian has referred to the 18th century practice of disciplining members as "theological suicide."<sup>23</sup>

Jacob Giles was a descendant of Anne Arundel County Quakers. His father, John Giles, helped organize the Patapsco (Baltimore) Friends Meeting which began meeting in his house in 1700.<sup>24</sup> Jacob married Hannah, the daughter of John Webster, in 1728, and for the next fifty years, was an influential member who frequently violated Quaker principles. He organized a small meeting near Rock Run called "Susquehanna," which he later moved into his new house at "Mount Pleasant," overlooking the Chesapeake Bay.<sup>25</sup> His daughter, Sarah, married Nathan Rigbie, Jr. in 1747 at the Bush River Meeting. During the American Revolution, Jacob Giles became assistant quartermaster to Richard Dallam. This action and his reluctance to manumit slaves, resulted in serious charges being brought against him by the Deer Creek Meeting.<sup>26</sup> His sons served active roles in the American Revolution. Nathaniel Giles was a member of the Harford County Committee to meet with other counties in 1775; Jacob, Jr. was elected to the Harford War Committee from the Susquehanna Hundred the same year; Lt. James Giles served in the Fifth Company, Maryland Militia; and Capt. Edward Giles was aide-de-camp to General Morgan during the Southern Campaign under General Nathanael Greene, a descendant of Rhode Island Quakers.<sup>27</sup>

In March 1748, the Bush River Meeting requested assistance from Nottingham "in settling a place on which to build a new meeting house, the old one being out of repair and no title to the ground on which it stands." John Lee Webster deeded a tract from "Best Endeavour"<sup>28</sup> and a stone meeting house was built at Cresswell about 1750. Isaac Webster, Jr. and his brother-in-law David Robertson served this meeting as trustees for many years.<sup>29</sup> This "Old Quaker Meeting House" was referred to in legal documents, and a contemporary stated in 1862, "the venerable stone building is still standing,"<sup>30</sup> long after it ceased to be used as a place of worship.

By 1800, most of the Websters, who had been Quakers, had either died or become Methodist,<sup>31</sup> so that a group of Abingdon Friends—John Burgess and John W. Dutton, undertakers; William Wilson, silversmith; James Orr, potter; and David Maulsby of Bush—were successful in persuading the meeting to move to a brick house on the east side of Abingdon.<sup>32</sup> This became the home of a lingering small number of Quakers until the Meeting was laid down in 1826, having served the people of Bush and vicinity for one hundred twenty years.<sup>33</sup>

#### REFERENCES

1. Kelly, J. Kensey, *Quakers in the Founding of Anne Arundel County, Maryland*, Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1963, pp. 1-5 gives an excellent account of Elizabeth Harris as a "Messenger of Truth" and of the Quaker beginnings in Maryland.
2. Forbush, Bliss, *A History of the Baltimore Yearly Meeting of Friends*, Sandy Springs, Baltimore Yearly Meeting, 1972, p. 31. "Patapsco Friends built their first meeting house of logs in 1714".
3. Chalkley, Thomas, *The Journal of Thomas Chalkley*, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of Friends, 1866, p. 72.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
5. Jacobsen, Phebe R., *Quaker Records in Maryland*, Annapolis, Hall of Records Commission, 1966, pp. 63 and 65.
6. In 1760 Bush River became subordinate to the Deer Creek Friends Meeting.
7. Stiverson, G. A. & Jacobsen, P. R., *William Paca, A Biography*, Baltimore, Maryland Historical Society, 1976, pp. 30-31. Aquila Paca served Baltimore County as sheriff, as a member of the provincial assembly and as a justice in the court system; however, by 1714 growing religious convictions that oath-taking was contrary to the Lord's commandments caused him to decline all further public service.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 18-19; also, Archer, Dr. G. W., "Genealogical Notes", unpublished mss. in the Archives of the Historical Society of Harford Co. For persons desiring more data on the Paca family: Aquila Paca (1676-1721) son of Robert and Mrs. Mary (Parker) Hall Paca of Anne Arundel Co. married, 1699, Martha the daughter of James and Susanna Phillips of Baltimore County. Children of Aquila and Martha Paca:  
 Maj. Aquila (1700-1743) m. (1) Frances Stokes; (2) Mrs. Rachel (Blay) Brown  
 Susanna (1705-174-) m. 1722 Joseph Galloway of Anne Arundel Co.  
 Mary ( ) m. 1722\* Richard Galloway III of Anne Arundel Co.  
 Capt. John (1712-1785) m. Eliz. Smith (They were parents of Gov. Wm. Paca).  
 Priscilla (1714-1742) m. Winston Smith of Blenheim  
 \* See Kelly, p. 112. (Two other children, Mary & James, died without issue.)
9. Bond, Dr. Allen Kerr, *Bonds of Earth*, Baltimore, Pegasus Press, 1930. pp. 162-164. Peter Bond, called "Peter the Immigrant" by his biographer, became a member of the Society of Friends before leaving England. He arrived in Anne Arundel Co. in 1660, but soon "pressed on with other Quakers and along the Patapsco, he blazed his claim to 301 acres recorded in the Rent Rolls as "Bond's Forrest". The land records of Baltimore Co. show in 1692 that Peter Bond and wife Alice, exchanged an 140 acre tract called "Prosperity" with Thomas Hedge for a 300 acre tract, "Harris Trust", both tracts being near the head of Bush River. On his death in 1706, Peter Bond left the Patapsco Estate to his oldest son, Peter, and divided "Harris Trust", giving each of his other sons, Thomas, John and William 100 acres.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 187-189. John and William Bond, sons of Peter the Immigrant, became mariners and died in young manhood. Thomas journeyed to West River in 1700 to marry Anne Robinson, and soon purchased his first plantation, "Knaves Misfortune". Bond put his energies into raising a large family and "accumulating enormous holdings of land". Dr. Bond says, "Thomas lived and died a strict Quaker, a man high in public esteem, often serving on commissions for settling disputes over plantation boundaries."
11. Nottingham Friends Meeting minutes, 1730-1750. These are on microfilm at Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College, Swarthmore, Pa. Also, Hall of Records, Annapolis.
12. Bond, p. 209.
13. Matlack, T. Chalkley, *Historical Sketches of Friends Meetings*, "Deer Creek", Vol. IV, p. 825, Privately printed by T. Chalkley Matlack, Moorestown, N.J. 1938. Copy made by Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College and bound into four volumes.
14. Nottingham, op. cit.
15. New Garden Friends Meeting minutes, fifth month, 8th, 1724, "Whereas Friends of Bush River have settled a preparative meeting and have offered Eli Crockett and John Webster to this meeting for overseers whom this meeting approves."
16. Nottingham, op. cit.; Barnes, Robert, *Maryland Marriages, 1634-1777*, Baltimore, Genealogical Pub. Co.; Archer, op. cit.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*; also, unpub. ms. "Webster Genealogical Notes" by William Webster Finney of Elkhart, Ind.
19. *Ibid.*
20. For persons desiring more information on the Webster family:  
 John Webster (1662-1753), was son of John Webster of Virginia and Lewes, Del. who was the son of John Webster of England. Webster crossed the Bay to Harford Co. about 1690 and patented "Webster's Forest" in 1696. He married (1) Hannah Butterworth, (2) 1729 Sarah Giles of Patapsco, (3) 1735 Mrs. Mary (Watters) Talbott of West River.  
 Children of John and Hannah Webster:  
 John, Jr. (1696-1720) m. 1714 Mary McDowell  
 Isaac ( ) -1759) m. 1722 Margaret Lee at Bush River Meeting  
 Michael m. 1722 Elizabeth Giles at Patapsco Friends Meeting  
 Samuel m. 1726 Elizabeth Dallam at St. Georges  
 Hannah m. 1728 Jacob Giles at Bush River Meeting  
 Aliceanna (1716-1768) m. 1734 John Bond of Thomas at Bush River Meeting  
 Sarah m. John Deaver  
 James (1719- )  
 At the time of her marriage to John Webster, Mary Talbott had children. Two sons, John and Edward Talbott, came to Harford County with her. Children of Isaac and Margaret (Lee) Webster:  
 Hannah m. 1741 Samuel Gover at Bush River Meeting  
 m. 1749 Nathan Richardson at Bush River Meeting  
 Margaret m. 1741 John Talbott at Bush River Meeting  
 Mary m. 1748 Robert Pleasants of John at Bush River Meeting  
 Susanna m. 1759 Robert Pleasants of Rob't at Bush River Meeting

- Isaac, Jr. m. 1761 Sarah Robinson at West River Meeting  
 Sarah m. 1761 William Coale at Bush River Meeting  
 Cassandra m. 1763 Jonathan Massey at Bush River Meeting  
 Alisanna m. 1764 John Wilson at Bush River Meeting  
 John Lee m. (1) Susanna Griffith; (2) Elizabeth (Skinner) Carter  
 Elizabeth m. 1768 Daniel Robertson at Bush River Meeting  
 Ann m. 1773 Dr. Thaddeus Jewett at Bush River Meeting  
 James

Note. Dr. G. W. Archer says most of these marriages took place at the Webster dwelling, "Broom's Bloom", under sponsorship of Bush River Meeting.

21. Nottingham
22. Ibid.
23. Bliss Forbush
24. Norris, J. Sauren, "Early Friends (Quakers) in Maryland", a paper read before the Maryland Historical Society, Mar. 6, 1862. Printed for the Md. Hist. Soc. by John D. Toy, Baltimore, 1862, p. 25.
25. Ibid., p. 25; also, Deer Creek Friends Meeting minutes for sixth month, 3rd, 1767, "The preparative meeting is informed that Jacob Giles and Joseph Hayward in behalf of themselves and others have taken the liberty of removing their meeting from Schoolhouse (Susquehanna) to a house of Jacob Giles near the Bayside and have taken liberty of holding meetings on the fourth day weekly with which this meeting concurs for the present."
26. Deer Creek Friends minutes for third month, 1778 state: "Jacob Giles is charges with supplying the militia and troops with provisions and other war-like materials. It appears he has taken ye test (oath) prescribed by the present powers and other matters contrary to Quaker principles," Fourth month, 1778, "Jacob Giles justified his conduct in all he was charges x x x and seemed devious that Friends not trouble him again on these accounts." Sixth month, 1778, "Testimony against Jacob Giles was read, approved and signed by the clerk. William Coale was assigned to give him a copy."
27. Wright, C. M., *Our Harford Heritage*, Glen Burnie, French-Bray, 1980, Rev. p. 65 and pp. 358-359. Capt. Edward Giles service is found in Summers, L. P., *A History of Southwest Virginia and Washington County*, Baltimore, Regional Publishing, 1971.
28. Harford County Land Records, JLG k f314
29. Deed to land at Creswell lists Isaac Webster and Daniel Robertson as trustees. Their names appear in the Deer Creek Meeting minutes in this role as late as 1795.
30. Norris, P. 28; also, "Petition to the Commissioners of Harford County" on Oct. 30, 1832, reads in part as follows: "Your petitioners therefore pray your Honors to appoint commissioners to lay out and open a public road x x commencing at the corner of the field of Dr. Jacob Hall and run by the house of Capt. John A. Webster to intersect the road from Bush to Herberts Crossroads at or near the Old Quaker Meeting House x x x."
31. Several Websters were disciplined or disowned for other causes. The Deer Creek minutes show that in 1768 John Lee Webster was disciplined for being married by a priest; in 1771 Margaret Webster was disowned "for joining that society called Methodists"; in 1794 Samuel Webster, son of Isaac, Jr., was disowned "for fornication and marrying out"; Sarah Webster was disowned for marrying out and Robert Webster was found guilty of taking strong drink. In 1799, Isaac Webster, the Younger, died thus eliminating the last Webster to exercise strong influence over the Bush River Meeting.
32. Harford County Land Records, HOV f163.
33. Jacobsen, p. 65.

# "A Mighty Fortress is Our God": German Religious and Educational Organizations on the Maryland Frontier, 1734-1800

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**G**ERMAN SETTLERS WHO CAME TO FREDERICK COUNTY, MARYLAND, DURING the eighteenth century brought Old World Protestant religions with them. Their churches helped preserve German language and culture for three generations through their use of German in both worship and education. As ethnic organizations, German churches allowed Germans to enter the mainstream at their own pace, after there had been sufficient time for the psychic reorientation their new lives demanded.<sup>1</sup> But German settlers could not establish churches in the colonies that were true replicas of their German counterparts. Frontier conditions and the absence of an established German church forced settlers to assume major responsibility in structuring and maintaining their own religious organizations. The resultant churches developed traditions of local autonomy and denominationalism that are now established patterns in American Protestantism.

Historians have often viewed ethnic organizations as barriers to assimilation. Yet, ethnic organizations are complex social units. They embody both sources of the immigrants' tensions—preservation of the old and adjustment to the new.<sup>2</sup> Ethnic organizations are subject to the same strains as are their members. While their effect, and often their objective, is to promote cultural persistence, their form and function at the same time must be responsive to the conditions of the new environment. German churches in Frederick County helped settlers form a community out of people who came from different villages, who spoke different dialects, and who perhaps had different social origins. Religious conviction initially brought these people together, and religious organization then sustained their bond through shared beliefs, real or created kinships, a commonly understood language, and a sense of "being German."

Wedged between Pennsylvania and Virginia, Frederick County encompasses most of Maryland's Piedmont.<sup>3</sup> A ridge of the Appalachians forms its western boundary. Not until the 1730s did settlement of the county begin. But settlement proceeded rapidly, once prospective frontiersmen learned of its rich agricultural

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potential, strategic marketing location, and liberal land and social policies. Germans, Huguenots, and Scotch-Irish, coming often from bordering Pennsylvania, and English, entering from the south, hastened to the country, so that by the 1790 census, Frederick County had grown to a population of over 30,000 (including over 3,000 slaves). Fifty percent of these inhabitants were of German descent.<sup>4</sup>

Many settlers had come to the frontier because of the rising cost of land in Pennsylvania. Henry M. Muhlenberg, the foremost organizer of the Lutheran Church in America, noticed in 1747:

... that within the six [later copy: five] years of my being here scarcely half of the original members of the country congregations are left. Some of the other half departed into eternity, but most of them have gone to distant parts, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty, ninety miles, one, two and three hundred miles away to the borders of Pennsylvania and to Maryland and Virginia.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the economic hardships of settling a wilderness, Germans in Frederick County turned almost immediately to providing for their religious needs. In 1734, only three years after the first documented presence of a German settler, a Lutheran missionary named John Casper Stoever performed the first recorded ministerial service in Frederick. He baptized Anna Margaret Matthias, daughter of John and Maria Margaret Matthias. Stoever served mainly in Pennsylvania, but he made a yearly visit to his father, who lived in Virginia, and ministered to German communities along the way. German settlers built their first church building in 1743.<sup>6</sup> In the early years Lutheran and Reformed congregants shared this building, which was located ten miles north of Fredericktown on the Monocacy River. By the 1750s, when Lutherans and Reformed received resident ministers in Fredericktown, the Lutherans had already organized a congregation (1738) and built two churches, and the Reformed had organized a congregation and built one church.

The importance of religious affiliation can be seen in the alacrity with which the Germans in this study—a selected group of German families who initially acquired land between 1738 and 1767—turned to churches.<sup>7</sup> By comparing the year of first appearance in church records and year of first appearance in local records, it is possible to estimate roughly the length of time it took a settler to avail himself of church services. (A settler could have lived in the county for a number of years before appearing in records of any type.) The mean for this group (N=197) was five years, and the median one year. For 91 cases, first appearance in local records and in church records occurred in the same year. Clearly, religious life must have helped ease the sense of cultural insecurity in the new environment.

Another indicator of the importance of religion to these settlers is the fact that it was possible to determine the religious preference of 71.5 percent (191 cases) of the population under study.<sup>8</sup> (This observation applies to the whole period under study, rather than a particular portion of that period.) Only 2.6 percent of those who affiliated chose the Anglican Church. Evidently, the need to associate with Germans in German religious organizations outweighed any social benefits or status to be derived from Anglican Church membership.

The membership distribution reflects the geographic origins of this group of settlers. Fifty-three percent affiliated with Reformed congregations. Another 33 percent affiliated with Lutheran congregations. Five percent belonged to union—

Lutheran and Reformed—congregations, and seven percent were sectarians. Of the immigrant group, most had arrived in the colonies during the time when the British government and colonial legislatures discouraged Catholics from entering the colonies because of the ongoing wars with Catholic Spain and France. Most of the settlers came from southwestern Germany where the Lutheran and Reformed churches were widely established. Sectarians—members of Anabaptist or Pietist groups—also had come from this region and Switzerland. Yet, even though fairly numerous in Pennsylvania, they did not come to Frederick in any significant numbers, especially in the period before the Revolution. In 1747, Michael Schlatter, a minister and organizer of the Reformed Church, who rarely missed an opportunity to complain of sects in Pennsylvania, wrote of the Frederick community:

Farther, I must say of this congregation, that it appears to me to be one of the purest in the whole country, and one in which I have found the most traces of the true fear of God; one that is free from sects, of which in other places, the country is filled. For, on 7000 acres of land in that neighborhood there are none but such as are of the Reformed faith.<sup>9</sup>

At least in the early years sectarians in Frederick affiliated with church congregations, for their names appear in the church registers.

Henry M. Muhlenberg maintained that sectarians, because of their timely arrival in southeastern Pennsylvania, had access to the better lands and thus did not have to migrate to the frontier.<sup>10</sup> Despite Muhlenberg's opinions, the evidence suggests that larger sects, such as the Brethren, Moravians, and Mennonites, sought to establish congregations along the advancing line of settlement. There is evidence of a Brethren congregation in Frederick as early as 1749.<sup>11</sup> Little information regarding either the membership or the activities of this congregation has survived because the Brethren regarded records as a form of vanity. The Moravians, on the other hand, were careful recordkeepers. They organized a congregation as early as 1758 in Graceham, Maryland, about ten miles northeast of Fredericktown, the county seat. The Mennonites did not establish a congregation within the present boundaries of the county but formed congregations in Washington County around 1770.<sup>12</sup>

This religious diversity was in contrast to the religious situation in Germany during this period. The Augsburg formula (1555) of *cuius regio, eius religio* was incorporated in the Treaty of Westphalia (1648) and meant toleration for Lutherans, Calvinists, and Catholics in those territories where the ruler was of the same creed. The French invaders in the subsequent dynastic wars tried to restore Catholicism in the conquered Protestant areas; sectarians such as Mennonites and Dunkers took the real brunt of such persecution and indeed came to America to seek a haven in which to live by their religious convictions.

On the whole, Maryland's religious policy did not infringe on Protestant Germans' religious rights. On March 25, 1702, the Assembly passed "An Act for the Establishment of Religious Worship in this Province" which remained the fundamental law with regard to all religious matters in Maryland until the American Revolution.<sup>13</sup> The act did not prevent German Protestants, who accepted the divinity of Christ, from establishing their own churches and practicing

their own religion. In fact, a provision was included which provided for the rights of Protestant dissenters. The law did make church membership a necessary requirement for citizenship. It also did not exempt Germans from paying the church tax for the support of the established Anglican Church.

A consequence of this policy of religious toleration in Maryland was that numerous German denominations coexisted in the same geographical area and had to compete among themselves for members. Lutheran and Reformed churches, not established churches in Maryland, found themselves on equal footing with sectarians who in Europe would have been tiny, persecuted minorities. Not only did sectarian religions flourish, they were often successful in wooing church people away from their inherited faiths simply by their ability to provide preaching and other ministerial services.<sup>14</sup> Whereas sectarians believed that any awakened person in the faith could act as a minister, church people expected their ministers to have special training and learning. The church minister expected a salary and regarded his calling a profession, whereas the sectarian minister served as the spirit moved him and supported himself through other means.

From 1734 until the 1750s, the German church people of Frederick—in this study Lutherans and Reformed—had to rely on the irregular visits of missionaries and ministers who included Frederick occasionally in their circuits.<sup>15</sup> In the early years of settlement German church people tended to their religious life without the aid of clergy. In 1748 Schlatter wrote of the Fredericktown congregation:

It is a great advantage to this congregation that they have the best schoolteacher that I have met in America [Thomas Schley]. He spares neither labor nor pains in instructing the young and edifying the congregation according to this ability, by means of singing, and reading the word of God and printed sermons on every Lord's day.<sup>16</sup>

The Reformed records for 1767 show that congregants held religious meetings on Sundays for a whole year, when their minister left Frederick to take up duties at York, Pennsylvania.<sup>17</sup> Even though German settlers had become quite adept in continuing religious services when there were ministerial vacancies, such vacancies created disruptions in religious life for members of both the Reformed and Lutheran congregations of Frederick. Congregants could not baptize or perform marriage or burial services. The unavailability of clerical training in the colonies led to a chronic shortage of ministers. The administrators of German colonial synods spent much of their effort persuading European church organizations to send qualified clergymen. And only in the nineteenth century did German churches have seminaries in America.

In time the ministerial situation for the church people improved somewhat as congregations became regularly established. Fredericktown received qualified ministers who served the town congregation as well as others in the county circuit. Between 1752 and 1802 eleven Lutheran and Reformed ministers were resident in Fredericktown at some time.<sup>18</sup> With the exception of one Reformed minister, Johann Wilhelm Runckel, all these men had received their training in Europe.

German church people had not come to Frederick County in village groupings

with the intent of establishing a religious community, but rather as individuals and families who thus did not necessarily settle in compact areas. Often they lived at great distance from one another in remote and sparsely settled areas. What few church ministers there were in the colonies, therefore, had to serve unusually large fields. For example, Reverend Steiner, who was the resident minister for the Fredericktown Reformed Church from 1756 to 1759, traveled 2640 miles in the year 1757 to complete his circuits.<sup>19</sup> And as late as 1763 the colonial records of the Reformed Church noted that Otterbein "... has almost worked himself to death" servicing the nine churches in his area.<sup>20</sup>

Given such large circuits, German clergy exercised far less control over their congregants than their European counterparts. Congregants were also directly involved in the financial affairs of the church. In 1746, for example, 23 people contributed money so that the Lutheran congregation could have a church register.<sup>21</sup> For 1753 there is a list of seventeen people who helped to build the Lutheran parsonage in Fredericktown.<sup>22</sup> Peter Appel gave seven days' work. Frederick Unselt gave six days' work and had the lowermost floor made. Unselt and Appel were landowners, not laborers, so that this contribution meant that they were willing to take time from the very demanding work of running a farm in order to help the church. This involvement led to active lay participation and leadership.

German clergy did not appreciate this development. Traditional-minded Germans were shocked. The German traveller Gottlieb Mittelberger wrote in 1750:

Throughout Pennsylvania the preachers do not have the power to punish anyone or force anyone to go to church. Nor can they give orders to each other, there being no consistory to impose discipline among them. Most preachers are engaged for the year, like cowherds in Germany; and when any one fails to please his congregation, he is given notice and must put up with it.<sup>23</sup>

In Frederick, congregants were no less assertive. When they did not like Otterbein's preaching they locked him out of the church. In 1763 Otterbein wrote: "I have tried to satisfy this church, but can hardly make a success of it. I am sorry."<sup>24</sup> Sometimes, congregants resorted to coarse tactics. As late as 1793 elders of the Lutheran Church in Fredericktown offered a reward for information concerning "... some dirty, daring villains [who] did degrade themselves so low as most shamefully to bedaub the walls of the house of the Rev. Mr. Krug, with the most filthy excrement, ..."<sup>25</sup>

Especially for German church people the decades of the 1740s and 1750s were a period of growth and consolidation. Forty percent of those affiliated with a church in Frederick in this study first appeared in the church records during the years 1745-1756.<sup>26</sup> This burst in organization was due to several interrelated developments: the impact of the Great Awakening,<sup>27</sup> transmitted to Germans through ministers affected by continental pietism; the greater organizational effort exerted in response to the challenge posed by the ecumenical activities of the Moravians; and the establishment of colonial synods.

It was in this period that Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf, a leader of the pietistic group known as Moravians, came to America to bring order into the religious life of Germans. He was dismayed to see Christians split into competing

factions and he hoped to bring Germans together into an interdenominational organization called "The Congregation of God in the Spirit." Zinzendorf held seven union synods of leaders from the various German denominations. The movement failed, for each leader saw the effort as an attempt to woo members to Moravianism.<sup>28</sup>

Ironically, the movement led to the greater organization of the different denominations on both a local and colonial level. For example, when the Moravians in Frederick tried to take over the Lutheran congregation in 1747, Muhlenberg, responding to repeated calls for help, came to Frederick in order to help the nascent congregation deal with this threat. Muhlenberg's account of his visit showed that these confrontations between orthodox members and Moravians were divisive and emotional.<sup>29</sup> Muhlenberg's intervention helped unite the Lutheran faction. In order to prevent further difficulties, he also wrote a constitution for the congregation which set out rules for ministerial conduct and appointment. He wrote the constitution in English, in order that congregants would have fewer difficulties when dealing with English authorities.<sup>30</sup>

Moravians themselves turned to establishing an organization and held their first synod in 1748. In 1758 Frederick County Moravians regularly organized a congregation in Graceham, a town north of Fredericktown. In 1752 the church took title to land on which the town lots for a church community were laid out. Until 1819, Graceham remained a Moravian community. The church required residents of Graceham to be members of the Moravian congregation, and until 1815 made the town's ordinances.<sup>31</sup>

German churches in America did not entirely sever their relationship with European religious organizations. Through much of the century European organizations sent funds and personnel to the colonies. Reformed clergy appealed to the administrative head in Amsterdam and the Dutch government. Lutherans looked to Halle and the Court Preacher of King George. Moravians turned to Herrnhut, Saxony.

Yet the slowness and inadequacy of communication encouraged the growth of independence. Colonial administrators of German churches in America set about establishing an organizational base in the colonies. For the Lutherans this synod (1748) was called the Evangelical Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States.<sup>32</sup> It was the German synod most independent of European organizations. It turned to Halle for help and guidance, but assumed great autonomy in matters concerning the colonial church. For example, the Ministerium soon began to ordain ministers. A similar organization was the Coetus of the German Reformed Church (1747). It was less independent; it could not ordain ministers, and it did not break away from Holland until 1792. The Moravians had an organizational base in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Moravians sustained their relationship with Saxony until well into the nineteenth century.

The Lutheran and Reformed synods held yearly conferences (usually in Philadelphia) to which ministers of the local congregations were required to come. Local ministers were also to send reports of the congregation to the synod. It is on the basis of these reports, as well as of the reports to European organizations, that the organizational efforts of German clergy emerge.

Not only did the synods bring order into the religious organization of German

colonial churches, they also served as mutual benefit societies for Germans. In 1750 the Lutheran Ministerium appointed John Eberle to oversee the financial affairs at arrival in Philadelphia of orphans who had lost their parents on the trip to America.<sup>33</sup> Synod leaders also brought social services to isolated frontierspeople. They collected money for the poor, dispensed medical supplies, carried messages to relatives and friends, and counseled troubled parishioners. Local ministers performed many of the same duties. They were aided by the fact that they could turn to the synod for supplies, money, and personnel.

The emphasis of pietistic Protestantism on individual faith and the importance of confirming that faith through reading of Scripture also led to a commitment to parochial education. Pietism emphasized the importance of lay participation and personal piety. It was important that every congregant understand the Word of God as a means of Grace. Language thus was an important issue for German religious organizations.

By the 1740s, Germans of Frederick County, therefore, set about establishing schools for the education of their children. Despite an act of the Assembly in 1763 enabling the county to erect a public school, it is doubtful that one was built until late in the century.<sup>34</sup> Germans consciously decided to establish German schools as a means of passing their cultural heritage on to their children.<sup>35</sup> Clearly, however, a German school need not be in all respects a barrier to assimilation. Providing education for children where there were no other facilities was progressive in that it gave children certain skills, no matter what the language of instruction. The German school, like the German church, combined the new and the old.

As early as 1748 an entry in Schlatter's diary indicates that the German Reformed children of Frederick County had a schoolhouse, as well as their excellent teacher.<sup>36</sup> Beginning in 1761 the records of the Coetus included school statistics. Throughout the century Reformed Church members gave continuing support for education. (See Table 1.)

On May 13, 1752, a deed was executed between the grantor Daniel Dulany and the grantees Michael Jesserang and John Rightsman for lot number 89 in Fredericktown to be used for a schoolhouse by the Lutheran congregation.<sup>37</sup> Unfortunately, however, the records of the Lutheran Ministerium do not include statistics on schools for the early years in Frederick. The records of 1752 state that, in general, "Wherever necessary, schools shall be organized according to the excellent model of the Philadelphia congregation."<sup>38</sup> It is not until 1795 that there is a notation regarding schools in Frederick,<sup>39</sup> and in 1797 the minister for Middletown reported three schools.<sup>40</sup> Only after the turn of the century were these statistics recorded with any regularity. (See Table 2.) Moravian records indicate that the Moravians opened a school in Graceham in 1758.

Given the nature of the records, much of the actual life of the school can only be imagined. The sessions were in winter to accommodate the farm routine.<sup>41</sup> The Moravian records for 1797 indicate that the Moravian Church schools gave instruction in the basic skills, hymns and religious teachings.<sup>42</sup>

In general, the literacy rate of church people in Frederick County was high, which certainly contributed to their commitment to education for their children. Of 145 people for whom these data were available, 63 percent were literate.<sup>43</sup> The major source of literacy information comes from wills and deeds. The actual

TABLE 1  
Schools of the German Reformed Church, 1761-1791

Year	Congregation	Number of Schools	Number of Pupils	No. of Families in Congregation
1761	Frederick	1	40	80
1764	Frederick	1	60	60-80
1771	Frederick	2	100	120
1771	Middletown	1	32	54
1775	Combined <sup>a</sup>	2	159	206
1776	Combined <sup>a</sup>	4	160	231
1779	Combined <sup>a</sup>	2	105	219
1782	Frederick	1	71	92
1782	Middletown	1	25	39
1782	Glade	1	15	24
1783	Combined <sup>a</sup>	3	102	152
1785	Frederick	1	55	— <sup>b</sup>
1785-6	Frederick	1	60	102
1787	Combined <sup>c</sup>	— <sup>b</sup>	100	214
1787-8	Combined <sup>a</sup>	3	120	188
1788-9	Combined <sup>a</sup>	3	95	198
1790	Combined <sup>c</sup>	3	110	190
1791	Combined <sup>c</sup>	2	95	220

SOURCE: *Minutes and Letters of the Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania 1747-1792* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1903), pp. 199, 227, 320, 351, 370, 380, 391, 401, 408, 414, 423, 430, 440, 447.

<sup>a</sup> Figures are not provided for individual congregations. These figures are for total membership of congregations in Frederick, Middletown, and the Glade (Walkersville).

<sup>b</sup> Figures are not provided in reports.

<sup>c</sup> Figures are not provided for individual congregations. These figures are for total membership of congregations in Frederick, Middletown, the Glade, and Rocky Hill (Woodsboro).

TABLE 2  
Number of Lutheran Schools in Frederick County, 1803-1806

Year	Place	Number of Schools
1803	Frederick	1
1803	Middletown	4
1804	Frederick	1
1804	Middletown	4
1805	Frederick	2
1806	Middletown	6

SOURCE: Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States, *Documentary History of Evangelical Lutheran Ministerium of Pennsylvania and Adjacent States* (Philadelphia: Board of Publication of the General Council of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in North America, 1898), pp. 335, 345, 370.

incidence of literacy may have been slightly higher, since data were discarded that could not be verified by an original document. English clerks recording deeds, for example, often Anglicized the handwriting of the grantee or grantor or

simply were not consistent in recording the literacy of the individual, so that in one deed the person is listed as literate and in another as illiterate.

Another indicator of German literacy in Frederick County is the fact that fully 77.6 percent or 105 of the 134 inventories for the group in this study included books. This is especially noteworthy because books on the frontier were an expensive luxury, and as Gloria Main in her survey of colonial probate records observed: "The inventories of New England, for instance, provide a marked contrast in this regard to those of the southern colonies, where few estates included books of any kind."<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately, the presence of books in the inventory is not an absolute measure of literacy, because the book was frequently the family Bible. Moreover, because the Bible had such symbolic value to people it may have been owned by some who were illiterate.

Appraisers were not concerned with titles, language, or type of books, so they rarely recorded this information. Yet in some cases this information was included. In fifteen instances, for example, the appraisers listed language of books. Fourteen people had German books and one owned books in both German and English. Four people owned non-religious books.

The records also indicate that church clergy thought that parents should supplement parochial education by teaching their children German.<sup>45</sup> The type of handwriting used by children of German parents reasonably should reflect their education. The fact that 56 percent of the colony-born wrote with a German script suggests strongly that either parents or a German school were instructing them in writing. (It does not necessarily mean that the colony-born were using German as the principal language of communication.<sup>46</sup>) And an overall literacy rate of 77 percent for those born in the colonies, compared to 57 percent for those born abroad, indicates both the high initial literacy in this group and the further effects of readily available schooling in the county.

By the end of the eighteenth century some Germans of Frederick County began to change their minds about an exclusively German education for their children. Fredericktown's Lutheran minister, Reverend Krug, complained to the Ministerium in 1795: "many parents prefer to send their children to English schools."<sup>47</sup> Germans continued to support their own religious organizations, but they increasingly expected these churches to offer English as well as German. The records of the Lutheran Ministerium after 1800 include notations for both English and German Schools. In 1805 the Ministerium felt it necessary to adopt an official policy with regard to English-speaking Lutherans. The Ministerium decided to remain German-speaking; English-speakers were to form separate congregations but would have the right to send delegates to the Synod.<sup>48</sup>

This change in the attitudes of German settlers in Frederick County shows up also in will provisions. Of the 149 people who left wills, 16 or 11 percent included specific provisions for the education of their children. None of them specifically designated a parochial education. Of the sixteen, 14 or 87.5 percent died after 1785, and in many ways their provisions reflect the commercial growth of the county by this time. In 50 percent of the wills (8 cases) there is a stipulation for apprenticing the child. In 3 or 19 percent there is a specific stipulation for learning English. In one of the wills the provision states that the child should be instructed in both English and a trade. In another two the provisions stipulate that children

are to go to school for a period of time and then be apprenticed. The language of that education is not indicated. Despite the ongoing support of German parochial schools by the German church people, it would appear that the growing commercial complexity of the county was leading some Germans to understand that English could be a financial asset for their children.

Nevertheless, it was not until the pastorate of David Frederick Schaeffer, 1808–1836, that English became the language of the church. In 1810 Schaeffer began to offer an occasional service in English, and by 1816 English services were regular. A cultural turning point was the founding of the Frederick Lutheran Sunday School on September 24, 1820. It taught congregants' children hymns, the Bible, and the catechism in English. But only after 1822 were official church records kept in English, rather than German.<sup>49</sup>

After the initial period of organization and consolidation German religious organizations went through a period in which they tried to preserve their gains. Two sources of concern throughout this period were the French and Indian War and the policies of the Anglican Church. The French and Indian War caused widespread suspicion of Germans and brought about economic dislocation. The policies of the Anglican Church encouraged Anglicization of Germans. Yet, throughout this trying period, Germans in Frederick County did sustain their religious organizations.

For frontier Germans the French and Indian War was threatening to their settlements, to their religious life, and to their status within the colonies. The war brought about very real fears of attack. A communiqué of September 15, 1756, from Horatio Sharpe to John Sharpe bespeaks the war's chilling effect on Frederick County inhabitants:

Thence they [party of Indians] made a Descent into this Province and cut off some People that lived more than twelve miles on this Side our Fort [Fort Frederick]. This Accident has so terrified our Back Inhabitants that Hundreds of them have abandoned their plantations and one of our most flourishing German Settlements is on the Brink of being entirely broke up. . . .<sup>50</sup>

Secondly, the war led English settlers and officials to suspect anyone who was not English of being either French sympathizers or secret Catholics. On May 23, 1751, the Committee of Grievances and Courts of Justice warned:

That as the Numbers of Germans, French, and other Foreigners come into and settle the back and remote Parts, among which are divers Papists and Jesuits, or Priests of their own Nations, will, if not timely prevented, all together become a dangerous intestine Enemy, ready to join French or Indians, who are but too near, and surrounding the British Settlements on this Continent;<sup>51</sup>

And in 1755 the Lower House passed "An Act for preventing the Importation of German and French Papists, and Popish Priests and Jesuits, into this Province; and of Irish Papists by Way of Pennsylvania, or the Government of New-Castle, Kent, and Sussex, on Delaware." (The Upper House vetoed the bill.)<sup>52</sup> Despite this xenophobia the Assembly during this time passed legislation which allowed sectarians who had religious scruples prohibiting oath-taking and military service to observe their principles.<sup>53</sup>

Thirdly, the war placed even greater economic strains upon congregants and churches. In 1757 the minutes of the Reformed Coetus noted: "Schools, however, as well as churches, in many places suffer great loss through these troublesome times and the great misfortunes of war, which may our Merciful God kindly and speedily remove."<sup>54</sup> In 1761 the minutes noted: "The war made everything expensive, especially in the cities, so that a minister can no longer live as heretofore."<sup>55</sup> Neither the Lutheran nor Reformed congregations in Fredericktown were able to complete construction of their new churches until the end of the war.

Given the effort and difficulty necessary to sustain their religious organizations, Germans in Frederick during this time began to look upon the Anglican Church with suspicion and distrust. It is also evident that the Anglicans held similar attitudes toward Germans. In 1761 Rector Thomas Bacon wrote a letter to the vestry to urge them to provide free English instruction to the Black and German children of the community. The primary effect of such an effort, he argued, would be to reduce civil disharmony:

You will farther permit me to consult you whether, in your Opinion it would not be very desirable and useful to attempt a farther Harmony and Union between us and the Dutch, both in religious and civil Matters? And whether a school to be settled in this Town, wherein all Dutch Children should be taught to read and write English gratis, might not be a very proper and promising Expedient for promoting so desirable an Union and lessening the Number of separate and distinct opinions and Congregations among us?<sup>56</sup>

And as late as 1770, Bennet Allen, Bacon's successor, complained of:

... the back parts of the Province, where three-fourths of the inhabitants are foreigners, invincibly attached to their own Religion, Language and Manners, amongst whom no Clergyman of the Church of England can hope for any more Respect than his Humanity entitles him to or his income commands.<sup>57</sup>

Faced with the need to support their own churches through voluntarism, Germans increasingly became reluctant to support an established church which was not their own. In 1758 Lutherans appealed to Muhlenberg for help. The settlers wanted either relief from the tax, help in supporting their ministry, or a minister who could serve both the English and German congregants.<sup>58</sup> The congregation asked Muhlenberg to serve as their minister, but he declined. More significantly, in an effort to placate German settlers, English officials also extended an offer to him, which he also declined.<sup>59</sup>

It would appear that the grievances of the Germans were not immediately redressed. In 1764 Daniel Dulany, Jr., wrote to Secretary Calvert:

You have been rightly informed that there is no establish'd church in Pennsylvania, & that the support of it in Maryland is a disagreeable Burthen to the Dissenters, who are at the Expençe of Maintaining their own Clergy, or Teachers, besides contributing to the Stipend of the parochial Clergy.<sup>60</sup>

In the land records for 1769, however, there is indication that the Anglican Church eventually responded to the German complaints. Rector Bennet Allen

agreed to contribute yearly £25 apiece to the support of both the Reformed and the Lutheran ministers.<sup>61</sup> Allen's concession may have been linked to the incidents surrounding his appointment in 1768. Allen was notorious for extravagance, drinking, and a violent temper. Anglican parishioners, in a symbolic effort, tried to prevent him from entering the church to take his appointment as rector. Allen did enter the church after drawing a gun on the protestors. It is clear that Allen's opponents accused him of anti-German sentiments, since in his own account of the matter he denied any ill-will toward Germans.<sup>62</sup> Lord Baltimore and members of the proprietary party were at the time interested in attracting Germans to Frederick, so these criticisms of Allen probably caused real concern.

From an institutional perspective the American Revolution was an even more difficult time for German churches and churchmen than the period of the French and Indian War. While the event may have had the effect of Americanizing many of their members, it had quite different effects on German churches, for both theological and political reasons. Sectarians endured suspicion and even persecution because of their pacifism and scruples against oath-taking. Church clergy tried to stay neutral and thereby earned the hostility of all. And church members were not unanimous on which side to support. Many supported the Americans, others were Tories, and yet others stayed neutral.

For the Moravians, for example, the war brought divisiveness, since American Moravians agreed neither on their position on pacifism nor on their political loyalties. In 1749 the British Parliament had granted Moravians exemption from military service. But in the course of ministering to hostile Indians, Moravian missionaries found that they had to turn to arms for self-defense, so they were not absolute pacifists.<sup>63</sup>

During the Revolution John Ettwein, Bishop of the Moravian Church, did not want the American Moravian Church openly to espouse the cause of American independence, because he felt that Britain had helped Moravianism in the past and could also help the growth of the church in the future. Basically, Ettwein supported constituted authority; once the Americans had won, he accepted their sovereignty. Henry Muhlenberg publicly adopted a similar position.<sup>64</sup> Most German clergymen probably adhered to this policy, and were explicitly encouraged to do so by European superiors. Dr. Gottlieb A. Freylinghausen of Halle, for example, extolled the neutrality of the German clergymen:

... our preachers are far from supporting or increasing the disturbances which have arisen in the body politic by inciting the minds of the people. They do well to preach repentance and conversion and faith in Christ and Christian discipleship to those who bear his name, and to give neither party occasion for increased bitterness.<sup>65</sup>

Such a position caused considerable suspicion and also meant that German clergy did not provide intellectual guidance to their congregants concerning the nature of the American Revolution. They adopted, for the most part, a defensive stance with the hope that their neutrality would ensure the survival of their religious organizations no matter what the outcome of the Revolution.

Events in the colonies put pressure on German religions. In July 1775 the Convention of Freemen in Maryland met in Annapolis. At this convention delegates decided that all loyal to the American cause were to join in associations

to oppose the British oppression of the colonists and at the same time to serve as an interim government. The Committee of Observation for each county was to set about collecting signatures. People who signed were called Associators,<sup>66</sup> those who refused were called non-Associators. As tensions mounted, non-Associators were regarded with great alarm. In 1776 the Committee of Observation for Frederick ruled that non-Associators should not be allowed to talk to prisoners of war. Such pressure may account for the fact that of the eleven Moravians in this study, four were Associators, even though Moravians, in general, tried to stay neutral.

In the same Maryland Convention it was ruled that men between the ages of 16 and 50 had to serve in the militia. Exempted were "clergymen of all denominations . . . and such persons who from their religious principles cannot bear arms in any case."<sup>67</sup> While this ruling indicated a spirit of tolerance toward pacifist sects, the records of the county committees of observation show that local committees were more severe in enforcement.

A listing of 1776 by the Frederick Committee of Observation included the names of 346 people who were fined for non-enrollment.<sup>68</sup> Of these people, 145 had German surnames. Because reasons for non-enrollment were not stated, many of these people may have been loyalists, yet it is also reasonable to assume that a fair number of the Germans were conscientious objectors. For 1778 there is a listing of substitutes in Frederick County.<sup>69</sup> Of these 161 people, 97 had German surnames. This high number in all probability reflects sectarian scruples. Yet there is evidence that some sectarians served. The Moravian records for the Graceham congregation for September 3, 1777, stated: "Some of our brethren had to go to the militia today."<sup>70</sup>

Given the fact that German church people were neither pacifist nor bothered by the bearing of arms, and that the clergymen of Frederick adopted a strict policy of neutrality, it is difficult to assess how the Revolution affected German church organizations. It is true that because of the financial demands of war, parishioners had less money to give to church organizations. And German church clergy complained of the decline in spirituality and religious observance as a result of the war. The Coetus minutes of 1776 recorded the following complaint:

Alas! on account of the sad war, many a praiseworthy observance is omitted, especially in regard to the keeping of the Sabbath Day and Christian exercises in the families at home. People at present think more of arms than of God's Word. It was, therefore, resolved that every minister shall take good care in his congregation to observe and to preserve everything which agrees with the duties of a Christian.<sup>71</sup>

Because the clergy of Frederick did not keep consistent records of membership it is impossible to determine how the Revolution affected every congregation's membership. The only consistently recorded data were for the Reformed Church. Throughout the Revolutionary years the membership totals remained fairly constant. (See Table 1.)

In short, the American Revolution did not help to bring the German churches of Frederick into the mainstream of American life. For the sectarians there was often persecution. Christian Newcomer, a Mennonite who was instrumental in

the founding of the United Brethren in Christ and who frequently came to Frederick to preach, wrote in his journal:

About this time commenced the Revolutionary war between this country and England, which also created considerable distress with me, being conscientiously opposed to war and bearing arms, I was thereby placed in many instances in disagreeable situations, respecting both my temporal and spiritual concerns; I desired to have nothing to do with the war, and be at peace, bearing good will to all mankind.<sup>72</sup>

One area in which German religious groups were wholeheartedly in support of revolutionary aims was the disestablishment of the Anglican Church. The experience of having to support their own churches in the colonies and their adherence to the policy of keeping political matters and church matters separate led German religious leaders to support the more radical position with regard to the taxation for the support of religious organizations. In the 1780s there was considerable support in Maryland for the collection of taxes for the support of ministers for the various religious organizations. Muhlenberg reported that Pastor Krug, the minister of the Fredericktown Lutheran Church felt "such compulsion inadvisable and unnecessary, for it would tend to make laborers in the Kingdom of grace lazy and slothful, etc."<sup>73</sup> In 1785 the Clergy Bill was defeated, leaving Maryland with one of the most radical positions of all the states on the relation of church and state.<sup>74</sup>

From the period following the Revolution, the synodical records for both the Lutheran and Reformed churches contain complaints about the increased worldliness and decline in religion. The membership of the Reformed Church in Frederick did in fact decline. Although the data are insufficient to pinpoint the exact nature or cause of this decline, greater economic prosperity and the general secularization of society following the disestablishment of the church may have been contributory factors. Another possibility is that some German church people felt that their churches had not changed sufficiently to accommodate their new cultural needs. Congregants who had participated in the Revolution and revolutionary politics may have felt that their religious organizations were too Federalist in spirit. Certainly the records of the Reformed Coetus show that the German clergy were not in favor of abandoning the traditional conception of hierarchical society and were dismayed by some of the leveling effects of the American Revolution:

In general, it is observed that the blessing of peace has rather been attended with the sad consequences of display in dress, debauchery and luxury, than with gratitude and humble recognition of the wonders God has done for us. If America were satisfied with the home-made clothing and the moderation which, because of want, were necessary during the times of the so-called Continental, or late war, how happy it would be! But now there are few, very few, who do not live above their stations so that a stranger on Sundays, or festival days, cannot possibly tell whom he meets.<sup>75</sup>

The social conservatism of these church organizations may have been contributory to the founding of a new German denomination, the United Brethren in Christ, at the end of the century. An important organizer of this group was

William Otterbein, a pietistic Reformed minister. The United Brethren in Christ was a German-speaking revivalist religion, which put much emphasis on feeling and religious enthusiasm. It supplied many itinerant preachers, and through them made a special effort to serve frontier communities. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and Pennsylvania were the main centers of its appeal.<sup>76</sup>

At the end of the century there was no indication of a widespread decline in German spirituality. Throughout the eighteenth century, wars, intolerance, and straitened finances had not prevented Germans of Frederick County from establishing and sustaining religious institutions for themselves and their children. Yet colonial conditions affected these institutions, so German churches in Frederick were always a blend of the old and new. Frederick County Germans endowed their organizations with characteristics which became hallmarks of American Protestantism: voluntarism; congregationalism; denominationalism; a large measure of independence from European churches; and adherence to the doctrine of separation of church and state.

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2. Timothy L. Smith, "Religion and Ethnicity in America," *American Historical Review* 83 (December 1978): 1181.
3. In 1748, when Frederick was established by an act of the legislature, it was much larger than the present county. It included within its boundaries that area which constitutes today's Garrett, Allegany, Frederick, Washington, Carroll, and Montgomery Counties.
4. This estimate is based upon David A. Bohmer, "Voting Behavior During the First American Party System: Maryland, 1796-1816" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1974).
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6. The dating of this church comes from the preface to the Lutheran Church Book, which says: "... this above named congregation built the Evangelical Lutheran Church a short mile from Michael Reissner's plantation northwards in the time of Pastor Candler, as man reckons one thousand seven hundred three and forty after the gracious birth of our Redeemer and Saviour, Jesus Christ, ..." cited by Abdel Ross Wentz, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Frederick Maryland, 1738-1938* (Harrisburg: Evangelical Press, 1938), p. 59.
7. The underlying assumption of my dissertation, "Germans on the Maryland Frontier: A Social History of Frederick County Maryland, 1730-1800" (adviser Ira D. Gruber, Rice University, 1981), from which this essay is drawn, is that Germans who bought land in the first generation of settlement, that is, before 1767, would play a special role in the development of the county because their abilities, characteristics, and timely arrival would present them with unusual opportunities. The study traces a group of these people and their descendants over time through available written sources. Included in this group are most families headed by a German who acquired land before 1767 within the area of present-day Frederick and who spent considerable time in the county subsequent to that initial transaction.
8. The specific distribution of the membership of this group of German settlers in Frederick reflects in part the more formal organization, and consequently the better record set, of the so-called church people. Sect people are most likely underrepresented. Contemporary religious leaders of German religious organizations, such as Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and Michael Schlatter, the leader of the Reformed Church, categorized members of German religious groups as church people, sect people, or separatists. John B. Frantz, in his study of the effects of the Great Awakening on German religious organization, explains the eighteenth-century usage of these terms:

Among the German colonists in English America, persons belonging to the Reformed and

Lutheran churches were considered "church people," while those belonging to groups that had separated from these churches, including especially the Mennonites, Amish, and Baptists, were known as "sect people" or sectarians. Those who rejected institutional religion entirely were referred to as separatists.

John B. Frantz, "The Awakening of Religion among the German Settlers in the Middle Colonies," *William and Mary Quarterly* 33 (April 1976): 269, n. 13. The terms are used in the same manner in this essay, so as to correspond with their usage in observations by men such as Muhlenberg.

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9. Michael Schlatter, *The Life of Michael Schlatter 1716-1790 with full account of his travels and labors among the Germans in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia, including his services as chaplain in the French and Indian war and in the war of Revolution*, ed. Henry Harbaugh (Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1857), p. 154.
10. Muhlenberg, I: 141-142.
11. Morgan Edwards, *Materials Toward a History of the American Baptists both British and German* (1770ff) excerpts appear in Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *The Brethren in Colonial America* (Elgin: The Brethren Press, 1967), pp. 187-188.
12. *Mennonite Encyclopedia*, 4 vols. (Scottsdale, Pa.: Mennonite Publishing House, 1955-59), 3: 532.
13. *Maryland Archives*, 24: 265-273. Hereafter abbreviated *Md Arch*.
14. Muhlenberg I: 121-122.
15. The Lutherans were served by John Casper Stoever who visited the area on his way to and from Virginia in the years 1734, 1735, 1736 and 1737. From 1738-1748 Frederick was included in a circuit. It was visited twelve times by David Candler who was resident at Hanover. In 1746 Muhlenberg sent Rev. Gabriel Naesman, who started the record book. From 1752 to 1759 it was served every four weeks by John Helfrich Schaum, who was the minister at York. The earliest baptism for the Reformed Church was performed by John Bartholomaeus Rieger, who occasionally visited the area. In 1753, Frankenfeld came to the region as resident minister. The Moravians had the services of the following men, before the organization in 1758: Sven Roseen, Matthew Reuz, Richard Utle, Christian Richter, Valentine Haidt, and Charles Rundt. This roster of Moravians included both trained ministers and lay preachers.
16. Schlatter, p. 177.
17. Coetus of the German Reformed Congregations, *Minutes and Letters of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania 1747-1792* (Philadelphia: Reformed Church Publication Board, 1903), p. 154. Hereafter cited Coetus.
18. For description of clergy, see: Frederick Lewis Weis, *The Colonial Clergy of Maryland, Delaware, and Georgia* (Lancaster, Mass: Society of the Descendants of the Colonial Clergy, 1950); Henry Harbaugh, *The Fathers . . .*; Charles H. Glatfelter, "The Colonial Pennsylvania Lutheran and German Reformed Clergyman" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1952); James B. & Dorothy Ranck, *A History of the Evangelical Reformed Church, Frederick, Md.* (Frederick, 1964); E. R. Eschbach, *Historic Sketch of the Evangelical Reformed Church of Frederick, Maryland* (Frederick: Great Southern Printing, Frederick, 1894); B. M. Schmucker, "History of the Lutheran Congregation at Frederick, Maryland," *Quarterly Review of the Evangelical Church*, ns 13 (1883): 516-540; George Diehl, "History of the Lutheran Church of Frederick," *Evangelical Review* (1855-56): 459-476; James Isaac Good, *History of the Reformed Church in the U.S. 1725-1792* (Reading: Daniel Miller, 1899); and Joseph Henry Dubbs, *Historic Manual of the Reformed Church in the United States* (Lancaster: 1885).
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# Religion in the South: A Tradition Recovered

JOHN B. BOLES

THE ISSUANCE IN 1980 OF THREE IMPORTANT BOOKS ON SOUTHERN RELIGIOUS history points up the current interest in a topic sadly neglected in scholarship until recently.<sup>1</sup> Religion in the United States—meaning primarily in New England, the Middle Atlantic states, and the Midwest—has at least since the 1930s been the focus of impressive research and publication. In 1964 Henry F. May argued in an important essay in the *American Historical Review* that “For the study and understanding of American culture, the recovery of American religious history may well be the most important achievement of the last thirty years.”<sup>2</sup> Yet in his survey of the significant books published in the preceding three decades, Professor May listed no works on southern religion. Of course many regional denominational and associational histories had been published, along with admiring biographies and occasional collections of documents, but these mainly represented traditional, narrative, uncritical institutional history that neither related their subjects to larger movements nor were concerned with ideas, theology, the folk culture of the people, or the role of religious beliefs. There were exceptions; the books of Hunter D. Farish, Wesley M. Gewehr, and especially Walter B. Posey, for example, are still widely used, and there are very perceptive chapters in several books by Francis B. Simkins and Clement Eaton, but the poverty of the historical imagination with regard to southern religion was stultifying as late as the early 1960s.

There are several possible reasons for the lag in the discovery, not recovery, of southern religious history as an academic interest. First, the largest and most methodologically advanced graduate schools were located outside the region, and graduate students often chose topics dictated by the easy availability of source materials. Second, the early ascendancy of political and economic history nationwide was particularly hard to break for a region whose heritage seemed dominated by the politics of secession and the economics of slavery and then sharecropping. Third, many educated southerners, especially in the 1920s and 1930s when the region's graduate schools began to expand and improve, either accepted the vogueish Mencken-like disparagement of southern evangelical religion or tended, in the aftermath of Perry Miller and the resurgence of Puritan scholarship, to belittle the worth of studying southern churches with their less sophisticated theological traditions.

Moreover, the relative paucity of printed sermons and the like seemed to

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confirm the futility of the effort. Even W.J. Cash, in his evocative *Mind of the South* published in 1941, implied in contradiction to his title that the South had no mind, only feeling.<sup>3</sup> Intellectual historians studied the ideas of elites in society, and the important, culture-shaping religion in the South hardly seemed the faith of an educated elite. Evangelical results, not systematic theology, was the desire of the southern clergy. Consequently Henry May's thirty-year-period of recovering American religious history was an inauspicious era for the study of southern religion.

By the early 1960s the major impediments to the development of southern religious history had largely disappeared. By that date a number of good graduate schools, with significant archival collections nearby, had evolved in the region. Historiographical trends against the old "history is past politics" school had overwhelmed traditional history everywhere, including the South, and the innovative, exciting fields of history were intellectual, cultural, and later social. The growing fascination with the South even outside the region meant that students elsewhere were joining their southern colleagues in turning to the intellectual, cultural, and social history of Dixie. With the new vogues of history (and perhaps in part because religion itself had become more respectable in the 1950s), scholars turned more sympathetically to a study of religious beliefs and institutions. Intellectual and especially cultural history had been considerably broadened to encompass popular values. Historians also gravitated to the field because it was practically unworked, and virgin land attracts scholars the way the West did pioneer farmers. For these reasons and no doubt others, the nature and quality of southern religious history changed markedly in the 1960s.

In 1964, the very year in which Henry May's historiographical essay appeared, Kenneth K. Bailey published *Southern White Protestantism in the Twentieth Century*.<sup>4</sup> Based on solid research in primary materials, Bailey stepped back from the typical denominational perch and viewed his subject with refreshing candor and a critical though fair-minded perspective. He dealt seriously with ideas, discussed the southern situation within a national framework, and sensitively analyzed the southern evangelical reaction to outside forces. In his move away from narrative institutional history, Bailey wrote what might be labeled the first modern book on southern religious history. Other scholars followed his example, though they often had different research strategies and reached their conclusions by independent paths. None of this new breed of southern religious historians has been more influential than Samuel S. Hill, Jr.

In 1966 Professor Hill published a moving examination of the *Southern Churches in Crisis*, a study of the challenges facing southern Protestants in the 1960s with a perceptive account of how their historical and theological traditions both shaped their identity and limited their response.<sup>5</sup> The individualistic, conversion-centered focus of the popular churches was shown to make them de facto defenders of the status quo, even though—and in part because—their theology was otherworldly. In addition to this important book, in his roles as chairman of the department of religion both at the University of North Carolina and the University of Florida Hill has been a major influence on the development of southern religious studies. The growth and increasing maturity of the field was indicated by a book he edited in 1972.<sup>6</sup> Composed of essays by several scholars,

including a woman (Anne Firor Scott), an anthropologist (Charles Hudson), a religious demographer (Edwin S. Gaustad), a sociologist (Edgar T. Thompson), and Hill himself, the book suggested what groups other than white male Protestants should be studied and what methodologies other than history had to offer in the evolving attempt to understand the complex nature of southern religious culture. In a number of ways this book set the agenda for future scholarship in the field.

Also in 1972 John B. Boles published a monograph on the Great Revival, that series of religious awakenings about 1800 that set the South on the road to evangelical dominance.<sup>7</sup> He used printed and manuscript materials from both church institutions and individuals, tried to make explicit the ideas and "belief system" that made possible the growth of the popular denominations (Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians), and attempted to characterize the resultant evangelical culture and survey its influence on southern history. This book dealt exclusively with white Protestants in Virginia, North and South Carolina, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee. Four years later Boles published a book more restricted in geography but broader in religious groups included.<sup>8</sup> As part of the Kentucky Bicentennial Bookshelf, *Religion in Antebellum Kentucky* examined the state's religious history within the context of regional developments and contained chapters on Kentucky Catholicism and black Christians. Its final chapter again strove to analyze the religious cultures that emerged, how they were both a response to the historical situation and a force shaping the actions of Kentuckians (read southerners).

As the above books suggest, one of the distinctive features of the new writing on southern religion has been the extent to which authors were willing to criticize trends and movements within the southern churches. An important series of books have as their central theme the failings of past religious leaders to break loose from conventional mores and sustain a prophetic tradition. Works such as Donald G. Mathews's *Slavery and Methodism: A Chapter in American Morality, 1780-1845* (Princeton, 1965), John Lee Eighmy's *Churches in Cultural Captivity: A History of the Social Attitudes of Southern Baptists* (Knoxville, 1972), and H. Shelton Smith's *In His Image, But . . . Racism in Southern Religion, 1780-1910* (Durham, 1972) indicated that southern religious scholars were now thoroughly in the modern, liberal academic mainstream.<sup>9</sup> While often quite critical of the racism and rigid social and religious orthodoxy that had so long survived in southern Christendom, these historians were sensitive to nuance and aware of the societal restraints that weighed so heavily on their forerunners. Of these three studies, Mathews's was the most broadranging in interpretation—though still quite traditional methodologically—and Smith's the most conventional in conclusions.

The old style of religious history, the trials and triumphs of particular denominations, was also revived in the 1960s, but the new versions were more interpretative, more sophisticated, far less tied to the filiopietistic school. In some ways the most impressive of these modern denominational histories was the 3-volume *Presbyterians in the South* (Richmond, 1963-73) by Ernest Trice Thompson. Carefully researched, encyclopedic in coverage, and cautious in judgment, the massive work was disappointing, however, in that it departed only a small step

from the old W. W. Sweet-style of narrative institutional history. A more incisive, interpretative denominational history was David Edwin Harrell, Jr.'s two volumes on the Disciples of Christ, where the account of his denomination was solidly grounded in social history.<sup>10</sup> This is a good model for denominational history to follow.

While historians of southern religion were beginning to use tools from the behavioral sciences, scholars from other disciplines were turning to the subject of religion in the South. Three important examples are Dickson D. Bruce, Jr.'s *And They All Sang Hallelujah: Plain-Folk Camp-Meeting Religion, 1800-1845* (Knoxville, 1974), John R. Earle, Dean D. Knudsen, and Donald W. Shriver's *Spindles and Spires: A Re-Study of Religion and Social Change in Gastonia* (Atlanta, 1976), and Thomas Virgil Peterson's *Ham and Japheth: The Mythic World of Whites in the Antebellum South* (Metuchen, N.J., and London, 1978). Bruce, an anthropologist, brought his discipline's concern with structure and function to the study of the campmeeting. While much that he said was either quite conventional or ahistorical, he did rightly emphasize the other-worldliness, indeed the anti-worldliness, of the pietistic yeoman converts and indicated how such sources as hymnbooks could be perceptively utilized to reveal popular religious beliefs. *Spindles and Spires* is a sophisticated sociological updating of the role of religion in Gastonia, North Carolina, and as such is a valuable supplement to Liston Pope's classic sociological analysis of the Gastonia textile strike of 1929, *Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia* (New Haven, 1942). Peterson, trained in theology and religious studies, utilized the anthropological insights of Clifford Geertz and Claude Lévi-Strauss, especially their concepts that religion is a model of and for reality—that is, perception and action—and that myth is a way of mediating contradictions within a society. The result is a thought-provoking structuralist interpretation of the role of the Hametic myth (supposed Biblical authority for the subjugation of the black race) in southern history. Both Bruce and Peterson are long on analysis and short on historical evidence, and as a consequence their books have not had the impact they might otherwise have had. Yet they do suggest the growing interdisciplinary nature of the field and insure that later work will not be one dimensional.

Donald G. Mathews in 1977 published the most comprehensive history of *Religion in the Old South* that has yet appeared. Although Catholics and other non-evangelicals were practically ignored, and the geographical focus is almost entirely on the Southeast, the book has a long section on slave Christianity and sweeps from the eighteenth-century Baptist awakenings that Rhys Isaac has so fruitfully explored to the Civil War.<sup>11</sup> Mathews also continues the long-overdue analysis of the role of women in the evangelical movement, a subject first developed by Anne F. Scott in the aforementioned book edited by Samuel S. Hill, Jr. The research is more broadranging than the citations suggest, including printed sermons, private manuscripts, church records, the relevant secondary literature, and wide reading in the behavioral sciences. Mathews's interpretations often seem strained and overly abstract, and in his efforts to emphasize the community-building nature of the evangelical movement and the religious chasm between blacks and whites ("... their religious experience and ultimate hopes differed as radically as their social positions...")<sup>12</sup> pushes his argument too far.

Nonetheless, he has written the most valuable, most influential single book on the subject. He is especially provocative in his analysis of the relationships between religious and social processes.

The chapters on Afro-American Christianity in both Boles's (1976) and Matthews's (1977) books represented another important development in southern studies, the growing emphasis on the cultural and social history of slaves from the black perspective. Eschewing primary reliance on source materials generated by whites, scholars such as George P. Rawick and especially John W. Blassingame had in 1972 revealed hitherto unrecognized riches and complexities in slave culture.<sup>13</sup> Both wrote books containing valuable chapters on slave religion, but it was ironically the Marxist historian Eugene D. Genovese who first made black Christianity central to his analysis of the slave experience.<sup>14</sup> In a 124-page section of his magisterial *Roll, Jordan, Roll* Genovese emphasized how religion gave meaning and purpose to slave life, how it provided an alternative value system for blacks, how it contributed to the psychological strength necessary to prevent dehumanization in the face of chattel bondage. Genovese made no use of church records, underestimated the extent to which blacks and whites worshipped together, and revealed a simplistic understanding of white evangelical religion. Yet never again after his book would slave Christianity be dismissed as unimportant or as merely an "opiate" for hapless black masses.

Perhaps the most satisfying brief account of slave religion to date is chapter 1, "The Sacred World of Black Slaves," of Lawrence W. Levine's *Black Culture and Black Consciousness* (New York, 1977). Making eloquent and anthropologically informed use of a wide range of black folk materials, including spirituals and folktales, Levine has produced a valuable analysis of the slaves' "sacred" worldview, seeking not simply description or even interpretation but an evocation of black religion.<sup>15</sup> Like Genovese, Levine often compares his sophisticated portrait of black religion with a naive stereotype of white religion, but his depiction of black culture is unrivaled.

Albert J. Raboteau in 1978 produced the first comprehensive history of slave religion well grounded in both historical and anthropological literature, with a broad comparative sweep that included Africa and the Caribbean.<sup>16</sup> Showing parallels between African and Christian religions, Raboteau traced the evolution of Afro-American Christianity in the South, with careful attention to social forces and theological traditions. He carefully portrayed the function of religion in the slave community and related it to both rebellion and docility. Raboteau emphasized black autonomy in religious life, though—to this reviewer at least—his limited utilization of church records led him to underestimate the extent to which there was a biracial religious community in the Old South.<sup>17</sup> Moreover, the real value of Raboteau's book lies less in providing new interpretations than in bringing together and synthesizing what had been written on the subject before about 1975. That work of synthesis, while it makes his book less exciting to specialists, enhances its value to the general historical community.

More recently Raboteau's *Slave Religion* has been supplemented by Mechel Sobel's *Trabelin' On: The Slave Journey to an Afro-Baptist Faith* (Westport, Conn. and London, 1979), whose analysis is similar though she did make extensive use of antebellum black church records. Related to this interest in slave religion

has been a new concern with the white-sponsored mission to the slaves.<sup>18</sup> One of the implicit assumptions of the modern scholarship has been that, with regard to religion as all else, southern history cannot be understood without taking into consideration how blacks have influenced whites and vice versa.

Most of the scholarship on southern religious history had concentrated on popular evangelicalism and the religions of the folk, whether poor whites (as in Dickson Bruce) or slaves (as in Raboteau). Students such as Hill, Boles, Bruce, and Mathews had emphasized how the white evangelical faith had helped shape the white southern historical experience, how it had helped create a sense of purpose, of community, of self-identity. Each of these earlier students had recognized a degree of rationality in the theology preached, but all had chosen to focus on the popular faith. After all, they were writing what Rush Welter has labeled external intellectual history—"the pursuit of ideas in their relationship to events"—rather than internal—"the study of ideas for their own sake."<sup>19</sup> While they rightly stressed the dominant religious tradition and sought to characterize "the southern religious mind," they neglected a minority movement of learned clergy clustered in the South's handful of cities.

E. Brooks Holifield has corrected that lacuna in the scholarship with his detailed and analytical account of urban ministers and the rational orthodoxy that characterized their theology.<sup>20</sup> Holifield concentrated on the work of 100 influential ministers, examined their theological writings, and interpreted not only their ideas but also the role they aspired to in southern urban society. The result is not a study of typical or representative southern ministers, but rather atypical ones whose writings reveal unexpected erudition and familiarity with European theological currents. The influence of these 100 is stated, but Holifield does not show how their ideas affected the worldview or lives of the huge majority of southerners, white and black. The primary value of the book is its acknowledgment of the complexity of southern religious life. We should recognize the strength of the revivalistic tradition while not forgetting the lesser though still important genteel theological tradition that was its contemporary. Because many have been so preoccupied with spelling out the origins and consequences of the popular folk belief, it is very good to have Holifield's book with its preoccupation with the other side of southern religion.

Still another indication of the extent to which southern religious history has come of age is the proliferation of studies on different aspects of religious culture. Buell E. Cobb, Jr.'s authoritative study of the shape-note songster, *The Sacred Harp*, a song book first published in 1844 and still in use in the rural South, is a case in point. His book *The Sacred Harp: A Tradition and Its Music* (Athens, Ga., 1978), indicated the growing interest in folk culture. Another richly detailed and elaborately researched study in folk culture is Dena J. Epstein's *Sinful Tunes and Spirituals: Black Folk Music to the Civil War* (Urbana, Chicago, and London, 1977). Less interpretative than it might have been, it nevertheless is a storehouse of information. Another very important tradition in southern religion now receiving scholarly attention is the holiness movement. David Edwin Harrell, Jr., has pioneered the academic study of these movements in two books, *White Sects and Black Men in the Recent South* (Nashville, 1971) and his impressively objective *All Things are Possible: The Healing & Charismatic Revivals in*

*Modern America* (Bloomington and London, 1975), whose geographical focus is larger than the South. Much work needs to be done in this area, but Harrell has indicated the direction such scholarship will likely take. The forthcoming major study of radio and television evangelists by sociologist William C. Martin will add still further to our understanding of the old-time religion updated and wedded to brand new technology.

State studies on important episodes in religious history are filling in the outline of regional church history. Such skillfully executed books as Frederick A. Bode's *Protestantism and the New South: North Carolina Baptists and Methodists in Political Crisis, 1894-1903* (Charlottesville, 1975) and Thomas E. Buckley, S.J., *Church and State in Revolutionary Virginia, 1776-1787* (Charlottesville, 1977) augur well for the growing maturity of the field. Recent biographies of denominational leaders indicate even that shopworn mode of religious history is undergoing a welcome change. Thomas W. Spalding's *Martin John Spalding: American Churchman* (Washington, 1974), is a landmark in Catholic historiography, just now emerging from the filiopietistic tradition, and Mark K. Bauman's *Warren Akin Candler: The Conservative as Idealist* (Metuchen, N.J., and London, 1981), clutches from obscurity an important turn-of-the-century Methodist bishop. The old uncritical style of denominational biography is not dead, however, as indicated by the recent publication of Roy Holder's *William Winans: Methodist Leader in Antebellum Mississippi* (Jackson, Miss., 1977).

That Holder's book stands out for its oldfashionedness is evidence of the advance in southern religious studies. The almost thirty books discussed heretofore indicate that southern religious history has been at a crest of popularity in the decade of the 1970s. The increase in the number of books published is paralleled by a marked increase in the number of dissertations and articles on the subject. A quick survey, for example, of the listings printed in the *Journal of Southern History's* annual bibliography, "Southern History in Periodicals," illustrates the point. But the changes in the religious history of the South are not merely quantitative. The level of analysis and sophistication of research design, the breadth of research, have also improved significantly. More and better history is being written, in part because of the body of work that has gone before. The three just-published books under extended review below suggest that the momentum in southern religious studies has not yet ebbed.

Anne C. Loveland's meticulously researched *Southern Evangelicals and the Social Order, 1800-1860* is a detailed portrait of the views and characters of white evangelical ministers. Basing her work exclusively on private papers, articles and editorials in denominational periodicals, and a long bibliography of published sermons, essays, and biographies (all complemented by the relevant secondary literature), Professor Loveland has written the most comprehensive catalogue of ministerial viewpoints and positions available, concentrating on Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian clergy in the South Atlantic states. The result is a valuable quarry of information, quotes, and summaries of the attitudes of clergy that other scholars will mine for a long time to come. Beginning with their conversion experiences and the idea of a "call," Loveland examines the innermost motives and expectations of her subjects. When she turns to clerical attitudes toward their profession, Loveland reveals the various and sometimes contradic-

tory roles ministers knew they had to perform, and she shows subtle changes and tensions within the ministry that evolved over the years. Their primary role, of course, remained the conversion of sinners, so her next chapter analyzes ministerial participation in and the changing reputation of revivals. The early, occasionally rowdy campmeetings were calmed down and regularized and in urban areas largely replaced by protracted meetings, but as both became routine human instruments for promoting conversion, many ministers became critical of them. Here Loveland begins to emphasize a point she had previously implied, the southern evangelical preoccupation with the sovereignty of God and the futility, even error, of dependence on human agency. Such an attitude predated the Great Revival.

The evangelical stance toward the world was quite complex. For most clergy the world represented values antithetical to the gospel commands; consequently ministers warned their listeners to withdraw from secular concerns at least to the extent of not letting themselves be dominated by the world. This was a constant struggle, and ministers fought a never-ending battle against worldliness in the churches. "Fashion" and "wealth" were the twin evils; both seductively attracted Christians toward behavior unbecoming to their faith. Ministers in the last decade of the antebellum period were increasingly upset by the compromises many clergy and the churches themselves seemed to be making with the world. Even though ministers typically believed the South was less contaminated by the forces of money and modernity than the North was, they came to expect some sort of national chastisement by God for the nation's sins. As Loveland concludes, "The crisis of 1860-1861 would come as no surprise to them. They were conditioned to look for divine retribution."<sup>21</sup>

Yet the evangelicals were not indifferent to the world. They recognized the evils and temptations present and to a limited degree acted to minimize their effect on individuals. The southern evangelicals never constructed a real social ethic or social gospel, restrained as they were by the presence of slavery and relatively unaffected by the liberalizing theological currents flowing from Europe to the North. Instead they sought to reform individuals through conversion (either to Christ or away from an "evil" like drinking) and aide such victims of society as widows, orphans, and the urban poor. Relief and regeneration were their goals, but a religious critique of society never emerged. Loveland provides a useful summary of the variety of benevolent reforms that existed and relates the movements to the southern individualistic ethic and the evangelical worry lest human agency preempt divine providence.

Nowhere were the strengths and weaknesses of the evangelical benevolent movement in the South better revealed than in its response to slavery. Essentially subservient to the slaveholding interests, evangelical clergy generally accepted the status quo even when they were unwilling to defend slavery in the abstract. The decline of religious emancipationism in the South after 1800 contributed to the hegemony of the slaveholding minority. But the ministers did not always accept abuses to the ideals of the system. They worked to regularize marriage relations between slaves, used moral pressure to minimize physical and sexual mistreatment, and exhorted masters to care for the spiritual needs of the slaves long before the rise of modern abolitionism. At the same time the evangelical

clergy criticized northern abolitionists for harming the cause of slave religion by making slaveowners suspicious of ministers.

The clergy subsequently avoided what they termed the civil issue of whether slavery should be abolished and focused on the religious issue of converting the bondsmen. Ultimately ministers refined their Scriptural defenses of slavery and ended up being firm supporters of the southern way of life. Because they genuinely believed one's otherworldly destination more important than thisworldly status, they saw no contradiction between accepting slavery and mounting an extensive missionary campaign to the slaves. In part because of their evangelical successes with the slaves and in part because they compared the North's liberal theology and newfangled sects so unfavorably with southern orthodoxy, the evangelicals began to apotheosize their society. When sectional tensions mounted in the 1850s, they discounted political efforts and resigned themselves to a providential cleansing and deliverance. As Loveland concludes in the book's final sentence, "The belief in the sovereignty and omnipotence of God and the dependence of men informed the whole of their thinking, and more than any other single element, contributed to the distinctiveness of southern evangelical thought in the nineteenth century."<sup>22</sup>

Very little of what Professor Loveland has to say on an interpretative level will be new to specialists in the field. Rather, she has added details, emendations, and nuances to a familiar story. Yet reviewers probably put too much emphasis on newness per se. This is a substantial, workmanlike book that confirms and corroborates the scholarship that came before it. In a developing field a degree of confirmation is helpful, and in a way the fact that little is surprising here is another indication that southern religious history may be reaching maturity. If Loveland's findings were all that new now, one would be suspicious of them. More troublesome than what the author says is what she does not address. This is quite openly a book from the viewpoint of white male clerics; the religious life of women, of blacks, of laypersons is only hinted at. Moreover, the life of the church itself as an institutional body, as a fellowship of believers, as—to use the "in" term—a religious community, is missing, probably because church and associational minutes were overlooked. The book is also more descriptive than analytical, but it does make clear the importance, indeed the centrality, of religion to the larger history of the South. It will be a standard source for the study of southern religion.

There is more a sense of freshness, of new ideas, about Charles Reagan Wilson's book, *Baptized in Blood: The Religion of the Lost Cause, 1865–1920*, in part because the period has been less worked by religious historians, and in part because of the perspective and methodological skills Wilson brings to the task. His central thesis is that the myth of the Lost Cause became the means by which many white southerners found self-identity. The notion of a separate political identity had collapsed at Appomattox, but cultural identity based on a mythical interpretation of the past took its place. That identity was infused with Protestant evangelical values. The result was a southern civil religion, explicitly Christian, explicitly southern, explicitly critical of the North—a way of finding meaning and ultimate vindication in the crucible of Confederate defeat. The Lost Cause became an authentic expression of religion, celebrated with and perpetuated by

its own rituals, mythology, and theology; complete with its own heroes, evangelists, and promotional institutions. The search for southern identity has long been a major theme in southern historiography. Wilson has made an important contribution to that quest.

Historians as diverse as Charles S. Sydnor<sup>23</sup> and Anne Loveland have commented on how antebellum southerners came to believe by the 1850s that theirs was a more Christian, more virtuous region than was the nation as a whole. Wilson has traced the metamorphosis of that idea through the ordeal of defeat. Northern material power, it was argued defensively, won the immediate war, but the more virtuous southern culture would eventually be victorious if southerners kept the faith. The whole apparatus of a religious establishment arose to maintain that promise, and the Lost Cause became for many southerners a holy cause. Defeat was interpreted as a trial, a hammering on the anvil of life, a "baptism in blood" that presaged moral triumph. Richmond became the Mecca of this Lost Cause religion, the Confederate cause its creation myth, Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Jefferson Davis its saints, Confederate Memorial Day (along with funerals of ex-Confederates) the time of ritualistically recalling the Cause, and the various Confederate veterans' groups (along with the United Daughters of the Confederacy) the cult institutions that kept the eternal fire burning. The churches served the same function, lending their office to the Lost Cause at every opportunity.

Virtue, purity, duty were the watchwords, and the southern heroes (Lee, Jackson, Davis) in particular and southern womanhood in general were portrayed as exemplars of Christian values, holding steadfast to principle through temptation and defeat. Emulation of their behavior was constantly exhorted, for only by being true to their heritage could the greater southern destiny be claimed, to lead the nation to holiness. Hence revivalism and calls for reformation resulted, and the South became even more self-conscious about its Protestantism. God, it was assumed, had a plan, and He obviously used the Civil War as a cleansing to prepare the South for its true mission. Clearly a sense of worth, of pride, a reinvigorated sense of southern identity, emerged from the depression of morale that followed defeat. Equally important, the surging sense of a regional religious mission produced a detailed and sustained critique of the New South movement, which was portrayed as conducive to mammonism and worldliness by the older Lost Cause ministers who were adults during the Confederacy. Younger Lost Cause clergy were less suspicious and tended to see evangelical opportunity in growth and prosperity, provided materialism was held at bay. Likewise, slavery was never really attacked. Rather, it was remembered as God's way of controlling, educating, and Christianizing blacks. Now a paternalistic segregation was the accepted method of race relations, though race never became a central concern to the Lost Cause religionists.

The major celebrant, even evangelist, of the Lost Cause was a Baptist minister, author, Civil War chaplain, and promoter extraordinaire, J. William Jones. Leading the campaign to write the history from a southern viewpoint, Jones was an indefatigable itinerant for the Lost Cause. Confederate champions also supported secondary schools and colleges that taught the true faith, and institutions like Alexandria's Episcopal High School, the University of the South, and

Washington and Lee University were citadels of conservative Confederate mythology. Through such institutions, and the rituals and ceremonies described earlier, southerners proudly maintained a culture separate from the rest of the nation. Ironically their attitude of Christian mission led them to a reconciliation with the nation during the two decades following 1898. The Spanish-American War, ostensibly a crusade for Protestantism and virtue against Spanish autocracy, was a means of seeing national and southern aims as consistent. Even more so was World War I a holy crusade, especially since the nation was led by a devout southern Presbyterian, Woodrow Wilson. Slowly, almost imperceptibly, southern clergy had redefined the Lost Cause, subtly shifting the emphasis away from a former Confederate crusade for virtue to one for liberty. In the context of fighting Germany, that was an idea more conducive to national identification. And so was the victory in World War I. The people of the Lost Cause, almost without realizing it, had become promoters of liberty, success, military victory, and the American mission. National reconciliation had been achieved, but at the cost of still another irony. Rather than being prophetic critics of American values, the Lost Cause spokesmen had become uncritical proponents of Americanism, 110 percent superpatriots.

Charles Reagan Wilson's book, informed by aptly utilized anthropological and sociological insights, is a richly interpretative, immensely provocative contribution to southern religious history. While at times his preoccupation with Lost Cause rhetoric may lead him away from the heart of southern evangelical culture and while he never indicates the popular, congregational reaction to all that ministerial fulmination, his book significantly adds to the civil religion debate within American religious history and the long historiographical search for southern identity. The place in this tradition for southern Catholics and especially black Christians is not made clear. But we stand in Wilson's debt for a timely, well-written account of the religion of the Lost Cause.

Samuel S. Hill, Jr.'s book, *The South and the North in American Religion* is very different in scope and approach from either Loveland's or Wilson's works. Hill first presented these three brief, interpretative, spritely chapters as the Dorothy Blount Lamar Memorial Lectures at Mercer University in the fall of 1979. Each chapter focuses on a 15-year period important in the shaping of the North-South dialogue in religion, Epoch A, 1795-1810, Epoch B, 1835-1850, and Epoch C, 1885-1900. For each of these eras Professor Hill characterizes the religious situation in both the North and South, though most of his discussion concerns the South. His comparative perspective highlights the distinctiveness of the South, the region he treats more perceptively. Hence this review will focus on Hill's portrait of religion in Dixie.

Hill begins with several important assumptions. First, he recognizes that while the South is a part of the nation and shares many common national traits, its distinctiveness is emphatic in religion as in other matters. Christianity in the North, for example, has consistently evidenced a concern for the health of the society as a whole while in the South the churches have largely lacked a social ethic. Second, Hill assumes that religion is an "independent variable" with causative force, not simply a reaction to the "real" forces of politics and economics. Third, despite the absence of anything like a social gospel in the South,

regional religion ended up supporting the status quo, even sanctifying it. Southern religion was not quite in cultural captivity; it helped shape the very culture in its midst.

Epoch A was a period of flux in southern religion. Out of this formative stage came an evangelical movement that soon gained cultural hegemony. Individualistic in thrust, more pietistic than doctrinaire, oriented primarily toward evangelism, the revivalistic ethos nevertheless created a sense of community for groups of likeminded converts, and in these church communities, among the fellowship of the saints, the common people found meaning to and status for their lives independent of old social distinctions. In that sense the individualistic faiths helped a southern folk society to evolve, and a folk culture resulted. This regional folk culture solidified during Epoch B, and as the South's religion became more rigid and uniform, northern religion was diversifying and becoming less normative. Race, the indelible presence of large numbers of blacks, was a crucial factor, and as the cotton curtain fell across the South, limiting regional criticism, the churches were constrained to adapt to the region's peculiar institution. Yet the emergence of a religious defense of slavery was not simply a falling away from an abolitionist tradition and a succumbing to political pressure. It was in part that, as Hill says, but the theological underpinning for social criticism was so weak, and the pietistic tendency toward ignoring thisworldly "political" issues so strong, that the sacralization of southern society was almost a logical result of evangelical success. The mission to the slaves was more a theological imperative than a reaction to abolitionist charges.

And, as Hill shows, borrowing from Charles Sydnor again and confirming Anne Loveland, by the end of Epoch B southern Christians were convinced theirs was a more Christian, more virtuous section than the North. By backing "away from religious interpretations which would have mandated social reform," and "By converting individuals, black as well as white, the churches [believed they] were accomplishing God's will for society . . ." <sup>24</sup> As a result they accepted their society, indeed embraced it. An evangelical movement that was theologically otherworldly and individualistic became a legitimizing agent of an entire society and consequently supported that region as a religious good in the eventual secession crisis. Perhaps more than any other single ingredient, popular religion contributed to the rise of southern sectionalism and served as the glue holding Confederate "cultural nationalism" together.

As different as the South and North in American religion had been in 1850, by Epoch C they were further estranged. Southern culture had been almost fossilized by the Civil War, and as a defensive mechanism southerners became even more insistent on their religious superiority. Southern evangelicals were aggressive and sure of their beliefs, and with the rapid rise of black denominations the South was the more intensively "churched" region, further proof to Lost Cause supporters that theirs was a special society. This of course was in increasing contrast to the North, where immigration (and Hill might have added urbanization and industrialization) was producing a far different society, one no longer automatically Protestant. Hill's chapter was written too soon to borrow much from Charles R. Wilson, but much that he says confirms Wilson's interpretation of the relationship between Lost Cause mythology, southern religion, and southern identity.

Hill concludes with a brief section describing the remarkable rapprochement between religion North and South that has occurred since 1900, noting all the same that southern distinctions still remain.

There is little to quarrel with in Professor Hill's interpretative sketch. He essentially confirms much that had been known and skillfully puts in just enough comparative material to highlight not only regional distinctions but also the subtle changes over time. His book does point up the need for a comprehensive history of southern religion, one commencing with the period before the Great Revival solidified the evangelical hegemony and continuing through to the election of a born-again southern president. Such a book would include Catholics, blacks, the sects outside the mainline churches, women, the mind of gentlemen theologians as well as folk beliefs.

Perhaps such a book is just over the horizon. David Edwin Harrell is currently preparing a brief interpretative overview to be published as part of the University Press of Kentucky's *New Perspectives on the South* series. Hill himself is presently editing a large, multi-authored *Dictionary* (really an encyclopedia) of *Southern Religion*, to be published by Mercer University Press, and this will be a most welcome reference volume. In the spring of 1981 Hill was the director of an important multidisciplinary symposium on southern religion held at Florida State University; he is editing the papers presented for publication in a book that will sum up much of the recent scholarship. But despite the absence of a standard comprehensive text, the work already published and that underway bodes well for the future of the discipline.<sup>25</sup> The maturity of that scholarship, combined with the treatment now accorded the South in such general histories as Sydney E. Ahlstrom's *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven, 1972) and William G. McLoughlin's *Revivals, Awakenings, and Reform* (Chicago, 1978), suggest southern religion has become a tradition recovered.<sup>26</sup>

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6. *Religion and the Solid South* (Nashville and New York, 1972).
7. *The Great Revival, 1787-1805: The Origins of the Southern Evangelical Mind* (Lexington, Ky., 1972).
8. *Religion in Antebellum Kentucky* (Lexington, Ky., 1976).
9. Eighmy's book nicely complemented an older study, Rufus B. Spain, *At East in Zion: Social History of Southern Baptists, 1865-1900* (Nashville, 1961).
10. *Quest for a Christian America: The Disciples of Christ and American Society to 1866* (Nashville, 1966) and *The Social Sources of Division in the Disciples of Christ* (Atlanta and Athens, Ga., 1973). On a narrower scope, good local studies are Frances Keller Swinford and Rebecca Smith Lee, *The Great Elm Tree: Heritage of the Episcopal Diocese of Lexington* (Lexington, Ky., 1969), and Kirk Mariner, *Revival's Children: A Religious History of Virginia's Eastern Shore* (Salisbury, Md., 1979); a more old-fashioned study is John D. Cushman, Jr., *The Sound of Bells: The Episcopal Church in South Florida, 1892-1969* (Gainesville, 1976). W. Harrison Daniel has

written too many articles to list, most of them dealing with Baptists, on a variety of topics. Though his work has never been collected into a volume his articles easily equal a book and their careful concern with details has rendered them useful to other scholars.

11. Although this review essay is limited primarily to books, the articles of Rhys Isaac have collectively been so influential they must be cited: "Religion and Authority: Problems of the Anglican Establishment in Virginia in the Era of the Great Awakening and the Parson's Cause," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d ser., 30 (January 1973): 3-36; "Evangelical Revolt: The Nature of the Baptists' Challenge to the Traditional Order of Virginia, 1765 to 1775," *ibid.*, 31 (July 1974): 345-68; "Dramatizing the Ideology of Revolution: Popular Mobilization in Virginia, 1774 to 1776," *ibid.*, 33 (July 1976): 357-85; and "Preachers and Patriots: Popular Culture and the Revolution in Virginia," in Alfred F. Young, ed., *The American Revolution* (DeKalb, Iowa, 1976), pp. 127-56.
12. Donald G. Mathews, *Religion in the Old South* (Chicago, 1977), p. 185.
13. George P. Rawick, *From Sundown to Sunup: The Making of the Black Community* (Westport, Conn., 1972); John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1972; revised and enlarged edition, 1979).
14. *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974).
15. For a rigorous analysis of folkloric materials with fairly conventional conclusions, see Olli Alho, *The Religion of the Slaves: A Study of the Religious Tradition and Behavior of Plantation Slaves in the United States, 1830-1865* (Helsinki, Finland, 1976).
16. *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1978).
17. To make another exception to this essay's restriction to books, the following should be compared to the analysis offered by Professor Raboteau: Kenneth K. Bailey, "Protestantism and Afro-Americans in the Old South: Another Look," *Journal of Southern History* 41 (November 1975): 451-72; David T. Bailey, "Slavery and the Churches: The Old Southwest," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1978), pp. 143-63; and the papers by Bailey, Larry James, and Clarence L. Mohr at the 1981 annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association. See also Boles, *Religion in Antebellum Kentucky*, pp. 84-85, and his paper, "Slaves in White Protestant Churches" presented at the "Religion of the American South" Conference, Florida State University, April 23-25, 1981.
18. See Milton C. Sernett, *Black Religion and American Evangelicalism: White Protestants, Plantation Missions, and the Flowering of Negro Christianity, 1787-1865* (Metuchen, N.J. and London, 1975); Erskine Clarke, *Wrestlin' Jacob: A Portrait of Religion in the Old South* (Richmond, 1979); Donald G. Mathews, "Charles Colcock James and the Southern Evangelical Crusade to Form a Biracial Community," *Journal of Southern History* 41 (August 1975): 299-320; and, to make yet another exception to this essay's restriction to books, D. Blake Touchstone, "Planters and Slave Religion in the Deep South," (Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1973).
19. Rush Welter, "The History of Ideas in America: An Essay in Redefinition," *Journal of American History* 51 (March 1965): 599.
20. *Gentlemen Theologians: American Theology in Southern Culture, 1795-1860* (Durham, N.C., 1978). Another important study of southern theology is Neal C. Gillespie's biography, *The Collapse of Orthodoxy: The Intellectual Ordeal of George Frederick Holmes* (Charlottesville, 1972).
21. Loveland, *Southern Evangelicals*, p. 129.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 265.
23. Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism, 1819-1848* (Baton Rouge, 1948), chapter XV, "The Affirmation of Southern Perfection."
24. Hill, *South and North*, p. 74.
25. In addition to the scholars cited in the essay, an incomplete list of those whose present and forthcoming work will add to our understanding of southern religion includes, in no particular order, Ralph E. Luker, Fred J. Hood, C. C. Goen, J. Wayne Flynt, Randall Miller, Gwen Neville, Robert Calhoun, Glenn T. Miller, David Holmes, Katherine L. Dvorak, Robert L. Hall, James J. Thompson, Patricia Martin, Jack P. Maddex, Jr., Bertram Wyatt-Brown, Scott Strickland.
26. Perhaps the first indication that southern religious historians had become self-conscious of the coming of age of their field was Rosemary M. Magee's brief article, "Recent Trends in the Study of Southern Religion," *Religious Studies Review*, 6 (January 1980): 35-39.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Flotilla: Battle for the Patuxent.* By Donald G. Shomette (Solomons, Maryland: The Calvert Marine Museum Press, 1981. Introduction, maps, illustrations, appendices, index. Pp xiv, 257. \$12.50).

*War on the Patuxent, 1814: A Catalog of Artifacts.* By Fred W. Hopkins and Donald G. Shomette. (Solomons, Maryland: The Calvert Marine Museum Press, 1981. Introduction, photographs, illustrations. Pp 43. \$2.00, paper).

The Patuxent River Survey, the first comprehensive survey of its kind conducted in Maryland, coupled intensive documentary research with a thorough field survey including oral interviews, remote-sensing and diver surveys, and data analysis and reporting. The survey resulted in the accumulation of a vast amount of significant archaeological and historical data and the publication of *Flotilla: Battle for the Patuxent* and a related pamphlet, *War on the Patuxent, 1814: A Catalog of Artifacts*.

For many centuries, the Patuxent River has been a significant Maryland waterway, hosting numerous Amerindian village sites before the first European settlers arrived nearly 350 years ago. Recognizing the historical importance of the Patuxent River, Nautical Archaeological Associates, Incorporated and the Calvert Marine Museum joined forces in 1977 to conduct a multi-disciplinary survey of the submerged cultural resources within this river system. The survey concentrated on areas thought to contain the remains of the Chesapeake Flotilla, a fleet of small boats which played an important role in the defense of the upper Chesapeake during the War of 1812.

In February, 1813, less than eight months after the United States' declaration of war against Great Britain, a fleet of Royal Navy warships established a blockade of the Chesapeake Bay and, in late April, initiated an aggressive campaign of plundering and burning throughout the Maryland-Virginia Tidewater. The British fleet, under rear Admiral Sir George Cockburn, with five 74-gun ships-of-the-line and numerous frigates and other armed vessels, controlled the Bay with little fear of challenge from the ill-equipped United States Navy blockaded in Baltimore and Newport News.

Captain Joshua Barney, at home in his native Maryland after several months of successful privateering against the British, devised a plan to combat the superior enemy force on the Chesapeake. His plan, submitted to the Secretary of the Navy on July 4, 1813, and adopted the following month, called for the deployment of a squadron of heavily-armed, shallow-draft gunboats and barges to engage British raiding parties. Although Barney realized his squadron would stand no chance against British warships, he knew that the shoal waters and winding channels of the Bay and her tributaries would require enemy raiding parties to attack from small boats and barges, out of the range of guns aboard the deep-draft warships. Barney's oar-powered craft would then be capable of engaging an enemy of comparable strength but with far less knowledge of the tricky waters in which they would be forced to maneuver. In this manner he hoped to be able to dissuade the British from their plan to loot and destroy Maryland's coastal towns.

After many difficulties, Barney's flotilla got underway from Baltimore on May 24, 1814. With thirteen barges, a row galley, two gunboats and a lookout boat, Barney's first objective was the British naval supply depot on Tangier Island. On June 1, however, the Chesapeake Flotilla was forced to seek the protection of shoal waters on the Patuxent River after an encounter with more powerful British ships. When additional British reinforcements arrived on June 7, the flotilla retired to St. Leonard's Creek.

After repelling several attacks by British boats and ships armed with cannon and the new Congreve Rocket, the Flotilla escaped upriver to the town of Benedict. Barney continued to withdraw upriver until he reached Nottingham, where the Flotilla remained helpless, as the British stepped up their relentless raids against Maryland towns.

In August, Cockburn's fleet, reinforced by Vice Admiral Cochrane, launched a long-awaited attack on Washington, D. C. On August 22, acting under direct orders from the Secretary of the Navy, Barney scuttled his entire flotilla at Pig Point (now Bristol, Maryland) to prevent capture by the British invasion force. Unable to engage the British on the Patuxent, the flotillamen fought fiercely at Bladensburg and Fort McHenry after abandoning their sunken boats.

Although Barney's Chesapeake Flotilla was not successful in its objective of protecting Tidewater Maryland from British invasion forces, his barges proved to be an embarrassing nuisance to the enemy, thus delaying the inevitable attacks on Washington, D. C. and Baltimore.

*Flotilla* provides a vivid picture of the bitter struggles and depredations which took place in the Upper Chesapeake during our "second war of independence" with England. Excellent maps are included to augment descriptions of the various invasions and battles. Ample footnotes and appendices provide more detailed information, as does the excellent bibliography.

The *Catalog of Artifacts* illustrates a wide variety of objects recovered from one of Barney's Chesapeake Flotilla vessels, excavated during 1980. Captions, although brief, are adequate to describe the illustrated items and the quality of the photographs is quite good. The inclusion of a scale with each illustration is helpful, as is identification by the Calvert Marine Museum catalog number. The artifacts described in the *Catalog* are on exhibit at the Calvert Marine Museum, Solomons, Maryland.

The brief introductory pages to the *Catalog*, however, provide the reader with little information on the archaeological field work which led to the recovery of the assemblage of artifacts. Although an archaeological report is available in limited quantities from the Maryland Historical Trust, it is hoped that this report may soon be published for wider distribution.

The successful Patuxent River Survey, along with the resulting publication of these two volumes on Barney's Flotilla, represents a major effort, adding many details and increasing the accuracy of existing documentary records through a combination of archival and field research. The authors, sponsors and participants are to be congratulated for an excellent project and for two very interesting and informative publications.

Virginia Research Center for Archaeology

JOHN D. BROADWATER

*The Oyster Wars of Chesapeake Bay.* By John R. Wennersten. (Centreville, Md.: Tidewater Publishers, Inc., 1981. Pp. xii, 147. \$12.95.)

John Wennersten has written a most remarkable and thorough account of the rise and ebb of the Chesapeake Bay oyster industry, utilizing numerous contemporary periodical articles, government reports and other books and some manuscript sources. While the main theme revolves around the repeated conflicts among local watermen, out-of-state poachers, and the various law enforcement agencies of the Government, Wennersten includes a valuable insight into the methods and economics of oystering and a balanced analysis of the social forces regulating the lives of the people employed in this industry.

Wennersten begins with a brief summary of the history of oystering on the Bay prior to the Civil War, with special emphasis on the influx of large vessels from New England and the introduction of the oyster dredge. The largest part of the book is, of course, devoted to

the hey-day of the oyster industry, approximately from 1870 to 1900. This section not only recounts the factual events of armed conflict but analyses the influences on the lives of the watermen and their willing or unwilling employees. In addition it discusses the effect of the industry on the development of the tidewater lands and communities, showing that during those years the growth of this area was totally connected to the prosperity of the oystermen.

The final chapters recount the decline of oystering after 1900 and the increased competition for oysters and oyster beds which this generated. This competition led to the last but most severe conflicts among the watermen and between them and our "Oyster Navy," culminating in the 1940s and 1950s and finally ending in 1962 with the signing of a new Maryland-Virginia compact. Wennersten concludes with a possibly valid but pessimistic view of the future of oystering as a way of life on the Chesapeake Bay.

This book is a valuable synthesis of much scattered information, written in an interesting, even gripping style. It has been long needed and is highly recommended.

*Maryland Historical Society*

FERDINAND E. CHATARD

*American Catholics: A History of the Roman Catholic Community in the United States.* By James Hennesey, S. J. Foreword by John Tracy Ellis. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981. Pp. xvi, 397. \$19.95.)

Of the half dozen or so single-volume surveys of American Catholicism that have appeared to date, this is beyond doubt the best. It is not as incisive as John Cogley's *Catholic America* nor as spare and to the point as John Tracy Ellis's *American Catholicism*. It is perhaps closest in scope to Thomas T. McAvoy's *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* but more up-to-date, more telling, and more readable. It contains much that is fresh and exciting. One find, for example, historian Jeremy Belknap's eighteenth-century judgment of John Carroll, the future archbishop of Baltimore, as "a man of sense . . . so zealous in the cause of nonsense" (p. 67). Or one discovers that more lately Baltimore's Archbishop Lawrence J. Shehan was the only prelate to consult that rare theologian John Courtney Murray (on a document touching church and state) in the preparatory phase of Vatican Council II (p. 303). One meets an assortment of interesting people who failed to find a place in the earlier surveys. One of the most fascinating is Mary Harris ("Mother") Jones, whose angry voice was silenced only by her death at the age of one hundred (pp. 214-15).

It is a crowded panorama with sweeps through space and time that the uninitiated may find dizzying but, in all probability, stimulating. The reader is carried quickly through the peripheral thrustings of the French and Spanish empires to the timid efforts of English-speaking Catholics to find a foothold in the New World and then acceptance in the new republic. One follows the attempt of the Catholic body to keep pace with the westward rush of empire and the rapid transformation of a people from rural to urban. In the latter process, in fact, one finds the Catholic Church well in advance of the rest of the nation as leadership slips from old-stock planters to Irish bosses in miters. "Immigrants Become the Church," a chapter title proclaims (p. 116). Certainly immigration changed profoundly the character of the small and unobtrusive church that had emerged from the American Revolution. Acceleration and heterogeneity begot almost unbearable tensions. The "growing pains" of the immigrant church, so well described here, were the results of both nativist assaults and intramural squabbles. A constant flow of aliens enriched as it retarded, producing greater and greater diversity in a church deemed monolithic, creating problem upon problem demanding always new solutions.

It is, nevertheless, a success story. After building the most costly ghetto in the Christian world, a ghetto designed to insulate the faithful against a hostile milieu, the Catholic

Church finally won acceptance in the heady days of Pope John, President John, and Vatican Council II. Almost a third of this volume is devoted to the period 1920–1980, still largely virgin territory for the historian of American Catholicism. It is in this span that the Catholic community experienced the trauma of late adolescence (the defeat of Al Smith was especially painful) and the rites of passage into early adulthood. Maturation and a measure of disenchantment came quickly in the 1960s and 1970s, but the author ends by discerning a new vitality in a church still searching for its place on the American scene as it goes about the business of dismantling the ghetto.

Devotees of Maryland history seeking an acknowledgement of the contribution of their state to this 400-year development will not be disappointed. A generous chapter is allotted to colonial Maryland and two chapters to John Carroll's attempt to mold a church both Roman and American from his see on the Patapsco. The second of these two chapters, however, speaks of "The Failure of Carroll's Plans," a chapter title (p. 89) that is, perhaps, more misleading than the chapter itself. While many of Carroll's plans mired or miscarried in his lifetime, the foundations he laid were as solid as those of the cathedral he began but did not live to see. All of the archbishops of Baltimore receive at least a passing nod in these pages, usually more. The councils of Baltimore, the ten national synods over which they presided from 1829 to 1884, likewise receive due attention. In a work as compressed as this, one can hardly complain that some of the achievements of these archbishops are passed over, such as the influence of Francis Patrick Kenrick as a theologian, the service rendered by Martin John Spalding to the nascent labor movement, or the mastery with which James Cardinal Gibbons built a national image as the progressive spokesman of his church.

If one can fault this well-constructed overview, it is due to no lack of research on the part of the author. Though there is no bibliography, the endnotes give evidence of a confident command of an amazing body of literature. He has packaged well what his predecessors have uncovered and laced the whole with nuggets from unexpected sources. But *American Catholics* suffers from the same shortcomings as American Catholic historiography in general. While the author proclaims the importance of the "people of God" as a whole, bishops still get top billing and the stage is still more diocesan than parochial or familial. Though his narrative pushes beyond earlier surveys, it can not rise above the reservoir that feeds it. There is still a definite need for a synthesis that will probe such neglected areas as the intricacies of ecclesiastical finance, the impact of popular piety, the proliferation and variety of Catholic organizations, and the Catholic hangups that are the stuff of psychohistory, to name but a few. This will come as younger historians with a different angle of vision make their contributions.

The index is not as inclusive as this reviewer would wish, and the inveterate footnote reader is again afforded an opportunity to rail against footnotes that become endnotes. But these are quibbles that hardly detract from a tale well told.

*Spalding College*

THOMAS W. SPALDING

*The Glorious Cause: The American Revolution, 1763–1789.* By Robert Middlekauff. Oxford History of the United States, Vol. II. (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982 Pp. xvi, 696. \$25.00.)

Here is an estimable beginning to an impressive—in today's economy, almost a risky—publishing venture. Under the general editorship of C. Vann Woodward, of Yale, the Oxford Press will in the fullness of time bring forth eleven volumes in this series, of which the present Volume II becomes the groundbreaker. Its author is an historian and dean at the University of California/Berkeley.

Dr. Middlekauff's book is an extended narrative onto which he has appended sizable

excurses upon selected problems or entire chapters treating a given topic. As the subtitle specifies, the period covered vastly overlaps the years of the shooting war. There is a four-and-a-half page Bibliographical Note, 19 illustrations and 20 maps, a good index, and footnotes (additional to the bibliography) reposing snugly where the word implies. The author's style is smooth, and should appeal "to the educated general public" for which, Dr. Woodward advises, the series is intended. From time to time, indeed, one encounters artful touches, *e.g.*, we descry the British troops around Boston with "their red coats raucous in the sunlight" (p. 287), or hear Baron Steuben ticked off as "in fact a soldier of fortune whose fortunes were rather low" (p. 417).

Much space is allotted to prevailing European philosophical doctrines, British imperial strategies, and American politics as enmeshed therein. This is no mere military history. For example, the war in the South—in 1981 the subject of an entire volume by Professor Henry Lumpkin, of the University of South Carolina—is here attended to in a dyad of chapters, the 18th and 19th, totalling just sixty pages. Yorktown is tossed off almost cursorily in eleven. Throughout Dr. Middlekauff is fascinated by The Army as a sociological phenomenon almost graspable in its manifestations. "The army was the revolution," he tells us (p. 463); "society and the army shared problems in a common confusion" (p. 549). He acknowledges his indebtedness in this realm to a former pupil, Professor Charles Royster.

From these pages George Washington—the main title derives from his pen—emerges very handsomely. We are told of his "mastery of detail," of his eye for "the political dimensions of the war," and his "awareness of the importance of the sea to the land campaigns." And the central image? "It was hard to resist Washington on horseback" (p. 362). But the man is not an equestrian statue, and there are equally clear-eyed, briefer sketches of Nathanael Greene and several of the British commanders. The position of women is touched upon, as is, recurrently, that of slaves and slavery.

Against this sprawling panorama the colony and State of Maryland receive their due. Tenantry in the colony is pondered (p. 38), and the workings of the wartime levy are exemplified by the Old Line State (p. 520). Among individuals Luther Martin, though respected, gets his come-uppance as "a verbose dogmatist" (p. 626). The fullest entry of all goes to Otho Holland Williams, "one of the underrated officers of the American army" (p. 479).

All the maps, though cleanly reproduced, are too small for ease of perusal. Occasionally we are at a loss as to the year under discussion, and either the author or his editors would have done well to subscribe a bit more fully to the Articles of Punctuation. The repository reference HM (p. 539n.) is not to be found.

In sum, here is a professional piece of work that should serve as a valuable overview of its subject for some time to some.

*Baltimore, Maryland*

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

*Learning Vacations.* 4th ed. By Gerson G. Eisenberg. (Princeton, N. J.: Peterson's Guides, 1982. Pp. viii, 264, \$7.95, paper.)

*Learning Vacations* is an excellent reference to the many opportunities for educational sojourns throughout the world. It utilizes the experience of previous editions (Mr. Eisenberg popularized the term "learning vacation" in the first edition in 1977) and the author's own educational travel over the past thirty years. Organizations sponsoring the trips include colleges, universities, camping groups, and Elderhostel seminars. Each entry identifies the sponsor and gives data on their annual or ongoing programs, accommodations, recreational and cultural opportunities. It also gives representative cost figures, related comment, and a source for further information. The costs range from budget to luxury.

The fourth edition of this directory contains entries for more than 400 sponsors that include a wide range of interests. Arts and crafts, cooking and art schools, institutes, music and folk festivals, square dance courses, archeological programs, and rafting trips are just some of the activities that may be found here. A special effort has been made to include those with ongoing programs and more programs abroad as well as at popular locations in the United States. This edition particularly differs from its predecessors by concentrating on ongoing programs. No specific dates are given: instead, program duration and approximate time of the year are noted. For this reason, *Learning Vacations* should not become dated and will remain useful for many years. Maryland readers should especially note that more than 25 entries relate to Maryland. Mr. Eisenberg is to be congratulated for giving us this aid to a fuller, more enriching cultural life.

UMBC

GARY L. BROWNE

The American Historical Association (AHA) Fellowship is a two-month and HSA Fellow will be paid a stipend of up to \$200 per month in support of investigation and in the summer weeks from June while doing research. Additional support of up to \$100 per project may be awarded to help defray research expenses such as travel, printing, and other out-of-pocket expenses. In recognition of services rendered to the history profession, the AHA will pay a fee of \$5 per page to libraries either those of the Fellow's affiliated university or those of the Fellow's choice. Applications including three letters of reference for the program will be due on February 28, 1982. Prospective applicants are urged to contact the HSA Executive Secretary, P. O. Box 302, Grand Central Station, New York, N. Y. 10017, for application forms and additional information about the program.

ERNEST P. THORNTON IN HISTORY: A PROFESSIONAL FELLOWSHIP SPONSORED BY THE ERNEST M. HAZLET FOUNDATION AND UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE

The Ernest M. Hazlet History Fellowship and the History Department at the University of Delaware are jointly sponsoring the Ernest P. Thornton in the History of Delaware and America.

The academic focus of the Hazlet's graduate program is in the social history of American industrialization. Hazlet tells us that the program and emphasis is in economic and technological change within a wide-ranging historical context. Emphasis is placed on the impact industrialization has made on the daily lives of American workers. The two-year master of arts degree leads to careers in museums and historical agencies, the four-year Ph.D. program prepares college teachers.

All costs and a small travel fund are provided. In addition, the yearly stipend of \$4,000 for the first year and \$4,500 for the second year, an allowance of \$1,200 is available to married students with dependent children. Three awards are possible for one year toward the master's degree and for three years toward the Ph.D. The annual award for the Ph.D. Fellowship for application is \$1,000 for the year of research.

For further information write: Ernest P. Thornton Program, Department of History, University of Delaware, Newark, DE 19807.

## NEWS AND NOTICES

### BIBLIOGRAPHIC SOCIETY OF AMERICA FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM, 1983-1984

The Bibliographical Society of America (BSA) announces the establishment of an annual short-term fellowship program, to begin May 1, 1983, in support of bibliographical inquiry as well as research in the history of the book trades and publishing history. Eligible topics may concentrate on books and documents in any field, but should focus on the book or manuscript (the physical object) as historical evidence, whether for establishing a text or understanding the history of book production, publication, distribution, collecting, or consumption.

BSA Fellowships may be tenured for one or two months, and BSA Fellows will be paid a stipend of up to \$600 per month in support of transportation and living expenses away from home while doing research. Additional support of up to \$150 per project may be awarded to help defray research expenses such as microfilming, photocopying, and computer time. In recognition of services provided by libraries, BSA will pay a fee of \$5 per day to libraries (other than those of the fellow's affiliated institution) used by fellows for at least ten days.

Applications, including three letters of reference, for this program will be due on February 28, 1983. Prospective applicants are invited to contact the BSA Executive Secretary, P.O. Box 397, Grand Central Station, New York, N.Y. 10163, for application forms and additional information about the program.

### GRADUATE PROGRAM IN HISTORY OF INDUSTRIAL AMERICA SPONSORED BY ELEUTHERIAN MILLS-HAGLEY FOUNDATION AND UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE

The Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation and the History Department at the University of Delaware are jointly sponsoring the Hagley Program in the History of Industrial America.

The academic focus of the Hagley graduate program is on the social history of American industrialization. Hagley fellows study the context and consequences of economic and technological change within a wide-ranging history curriculum. Emphasis is placed on the impact industrialization has made on the daily lives of American workers. The two-year master of arts degree leads to careers in museums and historical agencies; the four-year Ph.D. program prepares college teachers.

Full tuition and a small travel fund are provided. In addition to the yearly stipend of \$4,200 for the first two years and \$4,600 for the second two years, an allowance of \$1,200 is available to married students with dependent children. These awards are renewable for one year beyond the initial year for M.A. candidates and for three years beyond the initial year for those pursuing the Ph.D. Deadline for application is February 1, 1983 for the 1983-84 academic year.

For further information write: Hagley Graduate Program Coordinator, Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation, P.O. Box 3630, Wilmington, DE 19807.

## County Historical Society Highlights

### TALBOT COUNTY

The following remarks were delivered by Dickson J. Preston on the occasion of the dedication of the Frederick Douglass historical marker at St. Michaels, Maryland, March 28, 1982:

I'd like to begin this little ceremony—appropriately—with a quotation from Frederick Douglass:

“Whatever I have done, I have done not because I am a Negro but because I am a man. You may say that Frederick Douglass is a member of the only race there is—the human race.”

That statement was made nearly a hundred years ago. For Frederick Douglass was a man a century—maybe more than a century—ahead of his time.

He did not believe in race, or in racial differences, or in walls set up on either side to separate blacks and whites. He *did* believe in the fundamental dignity and brotherhood of human beings, whether black or white, male or female, rich or poor. He spent his entire life in a struggle to tear down those walls. First, as they applied to him—a slave boy, doomed forever by the accident of his birth and the color of his skin to remain in ignorance, poverty and servitude. Frederick Douglass simply refused to accept that as his fate. He taught himself to read and write. He taught others also. He declared himself a man, and not a chattel. When the time came, he escaped to the North and made his own destiny as orator, editor, author, and crusader for human rights and human dignity. Second, he attacked the walls which bound his fellow blacks in slavery, which decreed that some people were mere chattels, to be treated like animals, because their skin was black, and that others were demi-gods, with god-like powers, because their skin was white. He did this not simply because those in bondage were *black*, but because they were *slaves*. Third, he attacked the walls of separatism—of *apartheid* if you will—which declared that blacks and whites must not mix, the Jim Crow laws which put blacks on one side of a line and whites on the other. Long before Martin Luther King, Jr., Frederick Douglass declared his own war on such laws and restrictions, and developed his own form of civil disobedience to them. On their wedding night he and his wife Anna—who was, incidentally, a Caroline County girl—were forced to sleep on the open deck of a steamboat, with a herd of goats, because blacks were not permitted in the cabins. That was not in the Deep South or even in Maryland. It was in the supposedly enlightened North, on a journey up Long Island Sound from New York City to New Bedford, Massachusetts.



FIGURE 1

Collateral descendants of Frederick Douglass at ceremony dedicating historical marker to his memory, March 28, 1982, St. Michaels, Md.

Douglass's answer was a frontal attack on such walls. A little later he took a seat in the so-called "white" car of a Massachusetts train. When the conductor tried to evict him, Douglass didn't fight back. He simply gripped the arms of his chair-car seat so powerfully that in order to throw him off the train six burly guards had to rip the seat from the floor and throw it off with him. That incident, so prophetic of the bus and drug store sit-ins of the 1960s, led directly to the end of Massachusetts Jim Crow laws. The point is that it occurred in the year 1842, not in 1963. For Frederick Douglass, as I have said, was a man a century or more ahead of his time. And Douglass did it, not because the laws discriminated against blacks, but because they were an affront to the dignity of man. In this, too, he was a century ahead of his time.

Douglass was a fighter—not primarily with his fists, although he was pretty good at that if forced to it—but with his stubborn will, his brilliant mind, his soaring oratorical and intellectual skills. He annoyed people. He got in their hair. He challenged their basic prejudices. He told them—and kept on telling them, until they were ashamed—that any form of discrimination was wrong, no matter to whom it was applied. To Douglass this meant not only blacks but all humankind. He was an early and vigorous crusader for voting rights for women—not because they were women but because they were human beings. In fact, he had addressed a women's suffrage meeting in Washington, D.C., on the morning of the day he died. To blacks he was as blunt and uncompromising as he was to whites. He told them: "Don't live on white charity; don't ask for handouts. Go to work. Make something of your lives. Don't depend on God's will; depend on yourselves." When asked for his answer to the "Negro problem," he was simple and direct: "Give him his rights and let him alone. Treat him as a human being

and let him find his own destiny. If he fails, so be it." In the century since his time, that is about the only solution which has never been tried.

It is especially fitting that we are gathered in St. Michaels, Talbot County, Maryland, to honor Frederick Douglass today. For it was here that he forged the character and philosophy which made him the great human being he became. He came here to live in 1833, a fifteen year old youth, rebellious against the shackles of slavery but uncertain of his own role in breaking them.

He left, three years later, an adult—and resolved henceforth to act like one. "I have made up my mind," he said, "that wherever I go, I shall go as a man, and not as a slave."

His experiences in the St. Michaels area were among the most profoundly moving of his life. It was here he learned to despise the hypocrisy of white churchmen who would preach the words of Jesus on Sunday and practice enslavement of their fellow creatures on weekdays. Douglass was a deeply religious man, but never again did he put trust in organized religion. It was here, too, that he learned that not all whites were evil, just as not all blacks were good. It was a young white man, a Mr. Wilson, (and I wish I knew his first name, but history has no record of it) who helped him start a Sabbath school to teach blacks to read the Bible. As you know, that was broken up by whites who feared what slaves might discover about themselves by reading the word of God. But it was a black man, whom he had believed his friend, who betrayed his escape plan to his overseers and caused him to be dragged behind horses twelve miles to the Easton jail. What that taught young Frederick—he was not called Douglass then—but Bailey, for his mother's family—was not that blacks or whites are good or bad, but that they share a common humanity and common weaknesses. Most of all, he learned that in this world he must stand up for his own rights—that no one else could secure them for him.

Many of you are familiar with the classic story of how Frederick finally got up the courage to fight back against his cruel master, Edward Covey, whose repeated beatings and sly torments had almost crushed his spirit. That took place not far from here, at Covey's rented farm near Wade's Point on the Tilghman Road. The fight lasted two hours. Neither won, but the beatings stopped, and Douglass for the first time began to realize he could and must control his own destiny. Douglass himself called it "a glorious resurrection, from the tomb of slavery to the heaven of freedom . . . I now resolved that, however long I might remain a slave in form, the day had passed forever when I could be a slave in fact." These two hours were undoubtedly the pivotal turning point of his life.

In his adult career Frederick Douglass—your Frederick Douglass, if you will—became a symbol to blacks and whites alike throughout the world of the finest aspirations of the human spirit. It was written of him that he was probably, after Abraham Lincoln, the best-known American of his time. He dined with Queen Victoria, became the trusted advisor of presidents, served in high government posts. But when he came home to St. Michaels in 1877, forty-one years after he had left in disgrace, it was not to gloat or to take revenge on those who had been cruel to him. It was to seek out his old master, Thomas Auld—who had been the town's postmaster when Frederick lived here—and reconcile their differences of

many years. In a memorable meeting in a brick house on Cherry Street—a house that is still standing, by the way—they erased the gulf of years, of race, of bitter words written and spoken, of the relationship of master and slave. They became what, in other circumstances, they might always have been—simply two men joined together by their common humanity, by their membership in the human race—the only race there is.

St. Michaels and Talbot County have been late in recognizing what the world long ago knew—that in Frederick Douglass we produced not just a great black man but one of the greatest of all Americans. But not too late. His voice, his counsel, his clarion call to end the pettiness of prejudice on both sides, to accept our common humanity and forget our differences, are needed as much today as they were a century ago.

In dedicating this memorial to Frederick Douglass, we honor ourselves as we honor him.

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### ***That's where we stand!***

Members and friends of the Museum and Library of Maryland History, Maryland Historical Society, were happy and excited when it was announced at the Annual Meeting that the Endowment Campaign had reached its goal of \$3,000,000. That this was accomplished in just one year was especially noteworthy.

### ***Where do we go from here?***

#### ***Forward!***

The response was so generous that we are encouraged to seek an additional \$1,000,000 to enable us to continue and expand our statewide educational programs.

At the outset of the campaign we were disappointed by the loss of a \$750,000 three-to-one matching grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities. Because of the efficient completion of the \$3,000,000 campaign, NEH has advised us that there is potential for the reintroduction of this sizeable grant over the next three years, provided we raise new monies for a portion of the required match. They may allow as new monies funds received after October 1, 1982 and even more important, may permit certain funds raised since 1980 up to \$1,125,000 to count.

### ***This is a great challenge and an equally great opportunity.***

We hope that you as a member of the Society, will want to play a part by contributing to the extension of your Endowment Campaign. Your contribution will help the Museum and Library to keep Maryland's heritage alive for your enjoyment and understanding today and for many years to come.



J. Fife Symington, Jr.  
Chairman of the Board

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## Board Room Recently Installed in France-Merrick Wing of the Museum and Library of Maryland History



This magnificent octagonal panelled room is the gift of Robert G. Merrick, the Jacob and Annita France Foundation and the Equitable Trust Company. Formerly located in the Munsey Building and used as the bank's Board Room, it was originally designed by William G. Perry, a restoration architect for Historic Williamsburg.

All the family of the Museum and Library of Maryland History, the Maryland Historical Society, extends thanks to Robert G. Merrick, the Jacob and Annita France Foundation and the Equitable Trust Company for this great addition to our facilities.